Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries 175
(60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country, 361
they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little [747]
cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). [311]

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and [712]
the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) [721]
from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are
fortified. ~~The ruins of old~~ fortifications are numerous. [172]

Although the necessity of living together ~~for protection~~ disappeared completely 361
with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the [795]
copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. [439]

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, [162]
Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These 361
large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. 621
Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller [602]
villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another [178]
by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. **Kula**, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of 361
Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 621
2. **Fatai**, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. **Maria**, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at
once to Siesia to live. 602
4. **Solomon Tanaki**, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. **Taani**, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. **Mary Anna**, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. **Mili**, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. **Latu**, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins. [601]
9. **Mary**, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

House 3

10. Kalo, daughter of 1 and sister of 5. Latu, 8, sleeps in Kalo's house. 361
11. Husband of 10, a Vavau man named Silas. 621
12. Kitchener, son of 10 and 11.
13. Fine, male maternal parallel cousin of 12, 19 years old. He calls 5 "tuasina"; 592
5 call him "ilamutu." He moved from house 4 to house 3 on the death of his 602
mother. He calls 10 mother (see 14) and 12 "tehina" (younger male cousin). [601]

House 4

14. John Malafu, father of 13. His daughter in 1920 married and moved away, so he now lives alone. (See 13.) His wife was maternal parallel cousin of 10.

House 5

15. Louise, brother's daughter of 1. Is from Maufanga, Tongatabu; father's name was Solomon. Neither she nor 16 have land on Nukunukumotu.
16. Husband of 15, a Vavau man named Afu. The offspring of 15 and 16 live in Maufanga, Tongatabu.

The mayor of the little island of Fonoifua, Haapai, spoke of the islanders 361
(about 40 in number) as belonging to the "family" Tave. Actually Tave is 621
the name of the tract where the dwellings stand and the inhabitants con- [622]
stitute more than one family in the European sense, there being 11 house- [592]
holds, 5 of which are perhaps unrelated to one another or to the other 6. The heads of houses in Fonoifua follow: (In this list the terms chief and matapule probably indicate approximate rank rather than titles.)

1. Simione Havili, the mayor and chief (because his father was from 361
the family of chief Malupo of Uiha. 621
2. Mesui Taufa, commoner, maternal parallel cousin of 1. 551
3. David Tautuaa, matapule, maternal parallel cousin of 1. [622]
4. Asui Lotulelei, brother of 1.
5. Ueleni Taufa, commoner, maternal cousin of 1. (2, 3, and 5 are brothers, their father Tuulau from family of the chief Maafu of Vaini, Tongatabu, their mother a commoner).
6. William Foliaki, chief, related to chief Malupo of Uiha, sister's son of 1.
7. John Kaisala, matapule, unrelated to 1.
8. John Langi, matapule, unrelated to 1.
9. Benjamin Taufa, matapule, unrelated to 1.
10. Benjamin Tui Pulotu, matapule, paternal parallel cousin of 1.
11. Mauseini, a widow, of matapule rank, unrelated to 1.

The modern village of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai, is composed of 361
people from four earlier settlements in the vicinity of Lotofoa: Failoto 621
(just north of Lotofoa), Faletapu (just south of Lotofoa), Ano (just south of Faletapu), and Felelei which centered at the *malae* in the present Lotofoa.
The people derived from each of these four earlier hamlets are spoken of [602]
as comprising a *faahinga* or "family," although they are probably not families

in a genealogical sense. The Ano people formerly had the Tui Haa Takalaua 361
as overlord, the Faletapu people the Tui Kanokupolu. The Ano people were 621
under the direct control of a matapule named Malaloi, who served the Tui [602]
Haa Takalaua and transmitted his orders. Failoto was under a chief named Lotaki. The Faletapu people had still earlier lived at the neighboring site of Pangai Foou, but moved to Faletapu just after becoming Christians. The [582]
Lotofoa informants said that marriage within or without each of the four "families" was permitted, degree of relationship being alone the determining factor.

The 85 adult male land holders of Lotofoa were distributed as: Men 162
from Felelei, 14; men from Failoto, 9; men from Faletapu, 12; men from 621
Ano, 13; men from other islands, 33 (one of these is from Faleloa, Foa Island); men of uncertain residence, 4.

For the island of Fotuhaa, Haapai, I have data which will perhaps aid in 162
forming some conception of the extent to which wives are obtained within 621
the village. Moungatonga, a man of chiefly rank, said that every native of 582
the island belongs to one of two "families," actually two districts: Hahake (East), Moungatonga's "family," and Hihifo (West), matapule Tuuheava's family. Of the 45 men holding tracts of land on Fotuhaa, 9 are unmarried. Of the remaining 36, 15 are Hihifo residents, 21 Hahake residents. Of the men from Hihifo 4 married Hihifo women, 4 married Hahake women, and 7 married women from other islands. Of the Hahake men 3 married Hahake women, 3 married Hihifo women, and 15 married women from other islands.

These figures reveal no tendency of the inhabitants of Hahake and Hihifo [616]
to form two intermarrying moieties; nor the slightest indication that the Hahake and Hihifo inhabitants constitute two endogamous moieties. The figures do reveal a slightly greater preference for wives from islands other than the home island of Fotuhaa; of 36 wives, 14 were selected in Fotuhaa. The small size of the population no doubt forces marriages with other islanders in order not to marry within prohibited degrees of relationship.

SEX AND AGE IN THE TONGAN POPULATION

In so far as statistics are available, the proportion of sexes in the Tongan 162
population of the year 1921 is shown in Table 2. Whether or not the figures reflect the relative proportions of the sexes in ancient times it is impossible to say. It may be noted that except in Eua, males outnumber females. The table shows also the age relations of the Tongan population.

The accounts of early voyagers give no information as to proportions of the sexes or the age groups in the Tongan population. The equivalent of the "fighting men" of antiquity may be considered those males included under "People in Prime" and "Young People" in the 1921 population. Table 3 is arranged on this basis.

The establish-
ments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually 592
kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within [622]
the chief's enclosure. [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even [565]
though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for 582
cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in 593
general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) men- 592
tions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tāboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. 586
Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a 581
word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal sur- 551
names. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan [178]
government college, where young men are registered with their fathers'
names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but [124]
state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) 888
compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 175
171

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 171 175
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . . 888
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have 582
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, 595
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond 622
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of 684
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman 847
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at 855
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo 888
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less 291
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- 276
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." 562

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her 784
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- 582
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman 607
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuato- 264
putapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was
believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he
never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his
own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's
father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the
same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the
fono (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15,
p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic
basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake
of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father.
The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These
same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are
perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings.
Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even
though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn
(29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather,
was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
561
562

cousins, Ika being the younger. Their mothers are half sisters, having had 593
one father but different mothers. Ika's mother is the superior of the two 605
sisters apparently only because she is the older. But this superiority makes 561
Ika superior to Fakatoumafi. When the two cousins bear children, it is 562
not the relative age of the children, but the rank of their mothers, that will
determine the superiority or inferiority of the offspring. So even though
Ika is the younger of the two cousins, her children will rank Fakatoumafi's
children. The children of Ika's older sister, however, will be superior to
Ika's children because their mother is the older of the two sisters. But
Ika's children will be superior to her older brother's children, and in fact
to all of her brothers' children, because of Ika's superiority to all of her
brothers—based on the principle that sisters rank brothers.

565
Concerning rank in relation to eating, P. A. C. (46, p. xv) in substance 554
says the following: "It was forbidden to an inferior to eat or drink in the 264
presence of his superior, and no one was allowed to eat before the Tui [643]
Tonga, who himself might not eat in the presence of the elders of his
family." That this statement applies within the family as well as in society [593]
in general is obvious from the reference to the Tui Tonga and the elders
of his family.

THE FAMILY, THE KEY TO TONGAN SOCIETY

Ranking of individuals within the Tongan family, termed *lahi* (abun- 593
dance, plenty, greatness), is the key to the organization of Tongan society 565
in every stratum. From bottom to top and from top to bottom of the 561
social ladder one general scheme of family organization prevails. As the 562
Tui Tonga is *eiki* (chief) to his younger brothers, so in every Tongan family 554
the older brother is chief to his younger brothers. As the Female Tui
Tonga is superior to her brother, the Male Tui Tonga, so in every family
in the land the oldest sister is superior to the oldest brother. A common
man's sister's children are *fahu* to him and may exact what they wish; the
Tui Tonga was often *fahu* to the Tui Kanokupolu; and the Tamaha, the
highest earthly dignitary, was always *fahu* to the Tui Tonga.

Relatively speaking, in every household there are chiefs and commoners.
As in the family no two individuals are identical in rank, so in the enlarged 602
family, with its greater number of degrees and consequent widening of the 554
extremes. In reckoning the interrelationship of all the individuals descended
from a common remote ancestor, the range in rank from the lowest to the
highest becomes greater still, and the intermediate degrees of rank are
exceedingly numerous. The fact that the Tui Tonga and his cooks (among [643]
the lowest of commoners) were blood relatives is an illustration. In brief [565]
then, a commoner is an individual who by virtue of descent through a series

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and 602
further removed from the patriarchal head of the family, as represented 554
by a continuous line of successive eldest sons. The Prince Consort Tungi 565
emphasized that there are no commoners in the absolute sense of the word.

In Tongan society there is but one chief of a group at a time, a title 622
being held by but one individual and dual chiefs being unknown. It is 554
inconceivable that two brothers could be simultaneously chiefs of equal rank.

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

The head of the family is usually a man, the oldest male. The designa- 592
tion for him is *ulumotua* (ancestor), although one informant gave the word
pule (ruler). Upon his death the *ulumotua* is succeeded by his younger
brother or his oldest child (son or daughter). It is said that sometimes the
brother and oldest son cooperate in supervising the family. There seems
to have been no family council to select a new head. Everyone knew who
was next in rank and he automatically succeeded to the position upon the
death of the patriarch of the family. It was stated that the *ulumotua* might
dispose of family property or the property of individuals if he saw fit. It is
likely, too, that he held the lives of family members in his hands. The [175]
sacrifice of one of the younger sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui in 1797 [782]
by Tukuaho, an older son, would seem to point to this. [644]

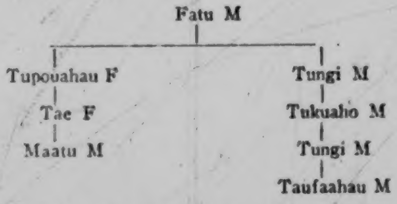
The *ulumotua* was sometimes a woman. Thus the sister of the late Tui
Haa Teiho is the head of the family of these lords of Tungua Island and of
Haa Teiho in Tongatabu Island. She was *ulumotua* also during her brother's
life time. Undoubtedly personality plays a prominent part in determining
whether a man or his sister controls the family. The sister of the late Tui
Haa Teiho impressed me forcibly as an individual of pleasing yet resourceful
character. To the present Tui Haa Teiho she is *mehekitanga* (paternal aunt),
and to her, therefore, he owes the greatest respect.

Upon the death of her father, this woman became *ulumotua* to her broth- 596
ers and younger sister and to her father's younger brother's children. Her
brothers' and sisters' children and grandchildren all look up to her as family
matriarch (more correctly "female patriarch"), as do also her cousins
through her father, except the children of her father's sister (*mehekitanga*)
who are her superiors in rank. The children of her mother's brothers and
sisters are also under her jurisdiction. All of these constitute the family
of which this woman is the head. Needless to say, they are not all of one [613]
lineage, for lineages in Tonga are patrilineal.

Another example came to my notice in 1920 in the island of Foa, [604]
Haapai, where a Mrs. Goedicke, Tongan wife of a Caucasian and sister
of Job Helu, mayor of the village of Lotofoa, controlled the destinies of
her brother's children by virtue of being their paternal aunt and *ulumotua*.

recovered. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, 173
learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died 643
a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks 604
and legs to the Tui Tonga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." 682
His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body
complete and then buried the remains.

The *fahu* relation while not exclusively limited to the mother's brother 604
(*tuasina*) and his sister's children (*ilamutu*), may continue to subsequent 605
generations, as the following genealogical diagram indicates.



Maatu has the right of *fahu* to Tungi the elder, to Tukuaho, and to Tungi the younger. Maatu and Tungi the younger are cross-second-cousins. Tukuaho was Maatu's mother's mother's brother's son, while Tungi the elder was Maatu's mother's mother's brother. To Taufaahau Maatu is not *fahu* because Maatu stands in the relation of "father" to him.

Frequently the right of the *fahu* is even more extended, and may give 604
a chief of high rank the right to help himself to any property he wishes 622 425
in an entire district controlled by chiefs to whom he is *fahu*. For example,
all of the living descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, who was 604
assassinated in 1799, are said to be *fahu* to the chiefs and commoners of the 602
lineage Haa Ngata Motua of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. The rea- 644
son for the *fahu* relationship is that Tukuaho's mother was Lepolo, the daughter of Laakulufoohake, who was the son of Atafakahau, who in turn was the son of Kaumavae, the son of Ngata (the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngata Motua and the first Tui Kanokupolu, who held office in the first half of the seventeenth century. In other words, Tukuaho's mother was of the Haa Ngata Motua, and being "sister" to all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, her son and his descendants are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and people. Thus the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte is *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua. The principal other living *fahu* of the Haa Ngata Motua are (a) Tungi, the prince consort, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, and consequently ranks highest among the *fahu;* (b) Haamea, the son of the present Ulukalala, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, but who is of lower rank than Tungi's mother. Tungi and his mother are also *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Tupu of Vavau.

evidence to show that it was. It seems more likely that the title continued 613 to descend in the male line but that the holders were merged in the Haa Ngata, perhaps for political reasons.

Momotu, a chief elsewhere listed as belonging to the Haa Havea, is also claimed by Haa Ngata Motua. It is said that the present holder of the title [611] belongs to the Haa Havea only through his mother, and that through his father he belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua. The first Momotu was the son of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, the putative ancestor of the Haa Havea.

Vahai, it is said, was formerly of the Haa Latu Hifo but was transferred as an agent or representative to the Haa Ngata Motua by Nuku and Niukapu, in order to be in close touch with the Tui Kanokupolu. The Haa Ngata Motua so highly prized his fighting prowess that they invited him to become a member and thus strengthen the Haa Ngata Motua.

Latukefu, another member of the Haa Ngata Motua and not originally a chief, became a member by invitation.

The Tui Kanokupolu is sometimes placed in another lineage, the Haa [643] Maafu, of which he is head. This *haa* is also called the Haa Mounga (Mountain) or Haa Moheofo (Wife of the Tui Tonga). It is really a lineage within a lineage, a crowning subdivision of the Haa Ngata Motua. The second synonym, Haa Moheofo, refers to the fact that the later Tui Tonga selected as chief wife (*moheofo*) the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, hence the lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu has the designation of Haa Moheofo. This lineage, if it may be called such, is also designated as the Haa Tui Kanokupolu. The only chief beside the Tui Kanokupolu who belongs to it is Tupoutoa.

In the Tamaha's genealogies, the following statement is made concerning the Haa Maafu. The head of the lineage is Taliai Tupou, that is, the Tui Kanokupolu. The Haa Maafu are the true younger brothers of the Tui Kanokupolu, their children, and their grandchildren through males.

The custom of the relatives of the wife of a great chief coming to live 613 at his establishment has lead to considerable mixture of population. This 622 is especially true in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu, the seat of the powerful 602 Haa Ngata Motua chiefs. The wives of these chiefs were derived in large measure from various other lineages.

HAA LATU HIFO

The putative ancestor of Haa Latu Hifo was the Tui Haa Takalaua 613 Moungatonga. His two "sons" (recognized also as "brothers" of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu) and their descendants constitute the lineage. To-day they are represented by the chiefs Niukapu and Nuku. Together, the Tui

The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki.* 643
The *vaoeiki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga 644
to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure. She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being 643
well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is em- 576
ployed to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in 195
the second person, *hoo,* or the third person, *ae.* "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala,* was worn only by the Tui Tonga and 643
the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only 301
upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of 824
fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The en- 643
velope (*loutoume*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal 302
therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same 643
time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed 412
for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which 272
have a sweet mint-like fragrance. 262

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the 643
office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following 644
information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classification is purely one based upon rank and the rank
in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives 643
of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related. 644
602

1. **Fahu.** Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga. [601]
2. **Kaingaofi.** The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is meant full brothers and sisters.) [593]
3. **Matapule.** Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.
4. **Kainangafonua.** Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.
5. **Tamai o eiki.** Cooks and low people.

be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this 565
happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded 581
as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few 558
chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, [684]
if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the
daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would
not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous 565
marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the 581
several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of 558
chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining 428 [595]
only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only
the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind
the kava makers in what is called the *toua*. Younger brothers and their [593]
descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated 565
in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the 581
title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except 558
the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In
ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs,
inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master,
the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has 565
summed up the relationship of chief and commoner: 622

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace; but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins, in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs,
> leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries 565
> had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the 622
> grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves,
> because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but 797
> a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and 178
> clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and 643 641
people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom. 565

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one 565
of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me 622
that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that 602
all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact,
usually constituting the following of a chief.

There is a certain number of commoners who seem to be related, not to 565
the modern great chiefs, but to the ancient chiefs who have become sub- 622
merged politically. Examples of such submerged chiefs are Mahina, Pua- 602
katea, and Takalatea of Vavau, who, though subjects of the Tui Tonga,
were conquered by the ambitious Tui Kanokupolu Vuna.

It is considered bad form in Tonga to-day to name people as commoners 565
unless the person who is giving the information is of high rank. For one 576
commoner to name others as commoners is improper and also unwise, in-
curring enmity.

A good example of the relationship which prevails between a chief and 622
the people who inhabit his hereditary lands is presented on the island of 565
Okoa, Vavau. The overlord is the Tui Lakepa, who also owns the neighboring island of Ofu and has holdings in Tongatabu. The mayor of Okoa is Afu Haa Mango, a matapule, a relative of the Tui Lakepa. An earlier Tui Lakepa had a daughter, Kaufusi, who was the mother of Shadrach Afu Haa Mango. Kaufusi had brothers Nautu, Masiu, Kalau, Paulalolo, and Ilai. These brothers are the grandfathers of the inhabitants of Okoa and Ofu. The people living in the Tui Lakepa's *tofia* in Tongatabu, are also his relatives and the relatives of the Okoans.

The relation which subsists between a person of high rank and that per- 565
son's inferior relatives is revealed by the following: A woman of high 602
rank, closely related to the last Tamaha and sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, 622
now resides in Vavau, the home of her mother now deceased. She had a number of servants about her home, all of whom she said were her relatives on her mother's side. When she resides in Haapai, relatives from her father's side of the family serve her. She said that anciently the servants of chiefs were invariably their relatives not unrelated commoners. She strongly emphasized the bond of blood between the highest chiefs and the commoners.

Many a commoner treasures the link of genealogy that connects him with some high chief. Thus Peter Koloamatangi claimed Tui Tonga blood, because his paternal grandfather was brother's son of a Tamaha.

The word *fanautaina* (child of the village) means a child born of a woman 622
of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. At times a handsome girl was 602
taken to a chief in order to bring chiefly blood to a place. A child is reckoned 837
as belonging to the place of its father or its mother according to its residence, [611]
but still the blood bond with the village to which they belong is recognized and can be utilized. All people of such a village would speak of themselves as related to the chief, although many of them were not.

Most Tongan informants are agreed that in spite of the wide range of 829
social standing, the Tongan population of to-day is of one origin and is not 186
comprised of immigrants (conquerors) and indigenes (conquered). The

A group of people desiring to obtain something from a chief usually try 622
to have their own chief, or at any rate, some chief, act as spokesman. During 571
my stay in Eua, the Methodists of the island desiring the use of a house in Nukualofa, Tongatabu, that belonged to the chief Tuita, took the Eua chief Hafoka as their spokesman and representative in making application to Tuita. Although one of their number, Hafoka was quite the proper person to make the request, because he was a chief.

The titled chiefs stand in certain fixed relationship to one another. Thus 622
Ata, the "dean" of the Tongan chiefs is "grandfather" (*kui*) to all of the 602
chiefs of the kingdom, except the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, to whom he is 571
"older brother" (*taokete*). The chiefs specifically enumerated as standing in the relationship of "grandchildren" to Ata are Fakafanua, Tui Haa Ngana, Tui Haateiho, and Malupo; but not Tui Lakepa, who is head of the lineage Fale Fisi. To the Tui Kanokupolu, Ata is "younger brother" (*tehina*). These are not true relationships, even though considered as extensions of terms for lineal relatives to collateral relatives. They are, if anything, mirrors
of the relationships in which the first title bearers stood to one another. The [928]
fact that succession to titles has not always been from father to oldest son precludes the relationship terms from being accurate, classificatory designations of the relationships of present day title bearers. Thus, to a man named David Uasi the present Ata once stood in the collateral relation of "son," whereas, now that he is Ata, he stands in the relation of "grandfather."

Within the lineage Fale Fisi, Tui Lakepa is highest and is denoted as 613
"father" by the other members of the lineage. Tui Haa Teiho is "older 622
brother" to Malupo and Tui Haa Ngana. Tui Haa Ngana is the "youngest 602
brother" and Malupo the "middle brother." At the present time, Tui Haa 571
Teiho is a boy, Malupo and Tui Haa Ngana middle-aged men. Tui Lakepa has the precedence of the other Fale Fisi chiefs at kava parties.

SPECIAL TREATMENT OF CHILDREN OF CHIEFS

Commonly the daughter of a chief had a separate house (*fale faka-* 622
kaufefine) within the chief's compound, cared for by one or more old women. 554
In this house the daughter lived with several girl attendants but she might 592
sleep in her father's house if she wished. 591

Similarly a chief's son might gather about him a number of young men and reside in a separate house (*fale fakakautangata*) and even in a separate enclosure. Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 344) describes Poulaho's (Tui Tonga Pau) son Fuanunuiava, a lad of twelve years, as having a house of his own and as being attended by a circle of boys and by an old man and an old woman A good example of the congregating of young men with the chief's son

the order of family right to the craft, was severely criticized and socially pun- 463
ished by his family and even by his neighbors. The informant was in doubt 428
as to whether the confirming chief would override such an illogical choice. [626]

If the male members in the family of a *tufunga* lack aptitude, ambition, or any other necessary quality, or show decided inferiority in comparison with someone outside the family, this outsider, following a presentation of gifts to the *tufunga* (from the applicant's family), may be chosen to succeed to the order. This appointee's sons then continue to carry on the particular *tufunga* tradition and practice.

All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's 622
house under the direction of a single *tufunga*. 342
466

Some living representatives of *tufunga* families in Lifuka Island, Haa- 463
pai, are as follows: 551

Josiah Paluto, *tufunga langafale* and *tufunga lalava*, his father, Job Femuiaki, his grandfather and his great-grandfather were also *tufunga;* Ngauamo, *tufunga vaka;* Femuiaki, *tufunga langafale;* Mailau Fuopau, *tufungaiaomaka*.

According to a Vavau informant, carpenters were called the "Children 335
of Tangaloa Tufunga," that is, "Tangaloa the Artisan." A tradition states [173]
that before the time of Ulukalala, the carpenters were driven from Vavau
during a war and went to Fiji to settle and that there they built a fort, so
strong that the Fijians could not take it. This brief snatch of legend sug- [467]
gests a sort of organization on the part of the carpenters, but at the present
time there is nothing in the nature of a carpenters' guild.

Only one person in a family held the title which went with a trade. As 554
usual, the title seems to have descended most frequently from the father to 463
the eldest son. Thus the predecessor of Eke, a boat builder of the Hihifo 428
district, Tongatabu, was his mother's father, who also was Eke—a title which is bestowed by the chief Ata. The present Eke had the title conferred upon him by the present Ata. Eke is of Samoan extraction and of matapule rank; in fact, the name Eke is a matapule name. An ancestor of the present Eke is believed to have come from Samoa in the time of Tohuia, the Samoan mother of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The father, paternal grandfather, and a great-grandfather of Fakauho, 554
another house builder of the Hihifo district, all bore the same title and were 335
all carpenters. The present Fakauho, popularly known as Fiso, had his title 428
conferred upon him by the present Ata about 1910. Fakauho is also a [333]
stone mason and constructs stone burial vaults (*fonualoto*). Should the [764]
chief Ata want a house built, he orders the Fakauho to do the work. Faka- 622
uho's assistants are his relatives, but Ata orders commoners to help in the 342
rough and heavy work. 466
335
[602]
[565]

Then Lamatau came and sat in front of the *toua* and said, "Fakafetai emau mau 276
kava" (Thanks for the kava). [Lamatau is related to Vahai.] 574

The matapule ordered, "Hiki ae toua" (Shift the people from behind the kava 576
bowl), and the *toua* accordingly shifted.

An old lady, Lizzy, who was related to Ahomee (perhaps a daughter of a [291]
former Ahomee), was turned out of the *alofi* because she wore a necklace as well as [301]
a shawl. She protested, saying that Ahomee, who is *fae* (literally, mother, but here [689]
mother's brother) of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court, could sit wherever he [602]
liked in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle. Ahomee himself could have sat in the
alofi, but none of his sons or daughters.

I heard of a woman, Pauline Tui Lalotonga of Nomuka Island, taking the seat of her deceased brother, whose name was Fotu. [I am not certain whether this is a title or merely a name.] At a *faikava*, Pauline's bowl would be called out for Fotu, while those of her two sisters would be called by their names.

PRECEDENCE IN THE KAVA CIRCLE

At an ordinary gathering, no attention is paid to position of individuals 276
according to rank, but in the formal kava circle everyone has a definite seat. 574
After the ring is formed, it cannot be broken except by the chief, Ata. At 576
his behest, the chiefs may arise and form the ring again should he consider 554
it too small and the members of it seated too closely. 622
643

Ata supervises the kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu. In this role he
is called *pule* (governor). Veehala is the *leokava* (chief guard of the kava), [689]
and his sons act as police who admonish a person sitting wrongly. Vahai's sons act as ushers. It is Ata's duty, should a chief take the wrong place, to send one of the sons or grandsons of Vahai or Veehala to inform the person of his mistake. "Chief, you are in the wrong place. Your seat is over there." If this is insufficient, Ata himself moves forward a bit, shifting his weight to his hands and remaining seated, for to stand would be an offense to the Tui Kanokupolu, and speaks to the chief. Should Ata's men (the offspring of Vahai and Veehala) who are back of the kava bowl see a person out of place they tell Ata, walking outside the circle in stooping
posture; they have no right to themselves correct the mistake. A chief or [689]
matapule who does not obey the order to move is liable to be pulled away from the ring, more or less manhandled, and forbidden to be present at that occasion. Motuapuaka, or Lauaki, can order one on his side of the ring to stand up and give his place to another chief.

Should either of the officiating matapules show incompetence, it would [689]
be bad form for Ata to scold him in the presence of the Tui Kanokupolu, but he must have him to his residence later and there reprimand him.

The order of serving of kava on the occasion of the appointment (*fakanofo*) 276
of the Tui Kanokupolu in 1918 was as follows (fig. 1, page 96): 574
576
643
554

LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punishment 671
therefor. The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled 121
with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence
very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of [177]
legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, [797]
chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the
accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I
gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural 784
consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. 688
There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges 692
and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and 693 625
his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa 622
before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. 695
A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment. 622

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was 681
followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haha* 697
(beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* consisted
of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a
punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala,* are translated as "sin," perhaps 673
in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified [682]
murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior [684]
of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite meaning. [565]
It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is [183]
amiss," and also means prostitution. [548]

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him 682
for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant 672
thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether [602]
punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through
the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by another [578]
resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which continued [627]
until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a [622]
commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a [565]
commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceedingly 682
common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered 687
by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others.
A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required. 585

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) and tapa towels (*helo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives. [515]

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion, each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as *fae* called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*. [602] [593]

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were wrapped about the waist. [515] [302] [291] [554]

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveeva* (mother to walk for pleasure). When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae* stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue! tue!" (to shout, to triumph over). [302]

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together by his people. 585 431 [302]

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task 765
called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. [565]
Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so
mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as 765
a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was 622
removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to 302
whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have [622]
cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga
or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The [593]
heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign
of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in 765
rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common 554
to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits [784)
in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is [602)
not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A 764
great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. [554]
This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of [462)
the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served
to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga,
Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to
carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought 763
to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for 343
this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and
retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief 764
should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. 343
The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in con- [569]
nection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or
the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of
dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 768

sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. 768
After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the re-
mainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of
the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however.

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia,* according 765
to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to 349
shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The
purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead
chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a
house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by
way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from
time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave
within the house.

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of 342
a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might 763
already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially con-
structed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of
falefeao as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the
sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem
a more apt definition for *faletolia,* however. He says also that the *falefeao*
may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on
some special occasion.

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand 763
for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put
it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be
deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch
was not removed but allowed to grow.

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never 764
done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed
after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug
out afresh on the day of burial.

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called 764
takipo. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three 416
people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders
face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the
takipo is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tui-
tatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45).

Old, torn mats (*tauangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near 765
relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. 602
The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakanga-* 292
fingafi. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tauangaa* and *fakangafingafi.*
Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn.

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to 302
stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 237

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept 814
by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly [793]
woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young [565]
chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies [887]
by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the re- [212]
positories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and
thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much [171]
interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root,
origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi [643]
on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile* [602]
fihi)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of 551
a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [124]
and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are
nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As
a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The 552
Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. [231]
The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named [773]
Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the 552
property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila 643
is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently 231

but was adopted by the *toutai* Leka. This first Ulamoleka (p. 142) was the 597
son of Tongamana, who was the son of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. 553
In spite of this coalescence of the two *toutai* titles in a single word, they
continue to be distinct. A nickname applied in commemoration of meritorious 551
service in battle, is Holakeituai, which means "run while there is time." 553
These are words which may be uttered by troops to their commander as 701
the fighting begins, in order to warn him away from danger. The present bearer of this name is John Tupou Holakeituai of Nukualofa. He bears also the nickname of Maumauvali which was bestowed upon him when he was a baby by Lolohea, the granddaughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. The name Holakeituai was first applied to John's father's father's father whose name was Tufui. Holokeituai seems to be in the nature of a title.

The nickname of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui was Mapatongiamanu 551
which means "*mapa* fruit pecked by a bird." The nickname of Taimi was 553
bestowed because of a remark which King George I made in connection with three Vavau chiefs (Tutoe, Fulivai, and Lutui) who had childless wives. The king remarked that it was a waste of time (*maumautaimi*) to keep childless wives, hence the name Taimi was given to the infant who was born about that time.

Every chief has a nickname which is applied to him at small informal 622
kava parties and other informal gatherings. At a very formal kava party 565
his real title would be called. To call a titled person by his pre-appointment 551 [553]
name was to court trouble. To address a minor chief in such fashion might [574]
incur a thrashing. To so address a major chief would warrant death. [276]

It is a common practice for girls to create nicknames, usually flower [576] [689]
names, for the young men who call upon them and whose identity they may 551
wish to veil. There is a long series of such euphonious names, such as 553
Pipitongi which means "the *pipi* fruit cut so as to have a serrate edge," as 584
for the ornamentation of garlands.

Some nicknames have a distinctly modern flavor, for instance, a Malakai 551
Tupou of Pangai, Lifuka Island, bears the nickname of Fehokokalasini (Fehoko-kerosene), no doubt bestowed after some incident.

There are no family names in Tonga. (See p. 16.) Titles are the near- [554]
est approach to family names, but only one individual holds a title at a time. Also it is not the custom to give children the personal names of either parent, so that no semblance of family names appears even in the personal
names. Children are, however, often named for relatives other than par- [602]
ents and certain names are favored in certain families, as, for example, Fatafehi in the Tui Tonga's family and Tupou in the Tui Kanokupolu's family.

The total number of names in each island group is governed in large

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the dis- [727]
favor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Toto- [622]
late. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later. [175]

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora,* says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that
he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in
1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high unin- [131]
habited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal pro- 266
> pensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

the enemy were assembled. As they approached, 669
a shower of arrows was discharged upon 726
them; but Finow ordered a mataboole to advance
forward and request an armistice, that 669
each party might take leave of what friends and 726
relations they might have among their opponents*; 593
which being granted, a number came 602
out of the garrison to take a farewell of their
relatives,—perhaps the last farewell of those
who were about to fight against them. Here
ensued a moving scene; many tears were shed
on both sides, and many a last embrace exchanged.
This affecting spectacle had lasted 669
about two hours, when a circumstance accidentally 726
occurred, unfortunate enough in its 727
consequences, but which might have turned
out still more so. One of the enemy, upon the
outer bank of the fortress, wantonly shot an
arrow at Mr. Mariner, but which fortunately
missed him, and stuck in a tree close at his

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* In a civil war at these islands, as well as at other places, it often happens that sons have to fight against their fathers, and brothers against their brothers; but what renders this circumstance still more common at Tonga, is the adherence to an old established custom, which binds every man in honour to join the cause of that chief on whose island he happens to be at the time the war is declared, unless some circumstance, as particular relationship between great men, engages the chief of the island, upon earnest request, to give him liberty to depart.

from those of profit (as they could employ them 669
in making gnatoo, &c.) When they arrived at 727
Neafoo, there happened a strong dispute between
several relations of the prisoners, and 669
those who had taken them; the former arguing 727
that they had a claim to the women, according 578
to the old Tonga custom, which decrees, that 602
all persons shall be in the service of their older
and superior relations, if those relations think
proper to employ them: the captors, on the
other hand, strenuously grounded their claims
on the right of conquest. The dispute ran 669
very high, and they referred it to Finow, who 727
replied, that he should not interfere in it, and 578
they might settle it themselves as well as they 634
could, for they had no right to bring the prisoners 627
there to create disturbances, but should
have dispatched them according to his orders.
At length he condescended to give his opinion,
viz. that the most proper method would be,
under these circumstances, to cut each woman
in two, and give one half to her relation, and
the other to the captor. The affair, however, 669
was amicably settled, without having recourse 727
to such bloody measures; some being given up 578
to their relatives, and others retained, upon
terms mutually agreeable to all parties.

About this time the two long expected canoes 669
arrived from Hapai, laden with provisions: they 724

✓

766 (i. e. the last), a few months before he came
768 away. The first of these two, however, had no
178 chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else
none that was of so high a rank as to take the
charge of his household, and be the mistress
over the others; consequently at his death no
766 such ceremony was performed. The last Tooitonga's
768 wife (the daughter of the late king, and
178 sister of the present) was not subjected to this
inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the
634 late and present king. When old Finow was
living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died
before his wife, she should not be strangled:
"What," said he, "is the use of destroying a
"young and beautiful woman? Who is there
"dares say that the gods are merciless and
"cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!"
[643] Tooitonga did not die till the present king
came into power, and we have already seen
that he not only did not allow his sister to
be strangled, but he also did not permit another
[784] Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was
whispered about, that some great misfortune
768 would happen to the country. At the Fiji
171 islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at
least of every considerable chief, undergoes this
ceremony on the death of her husband. (See
Vol. I. p. 330.)

782 TOOTOO-NIMA, or cutting off a portion of the
755
602

little finger, as a sacrifice to the gods, for the 782
recovery of a superior sick relation. This is 755
very commonly done; so that there is scarcely 602
a person living at the Tonga islands but who
has lost one or both, or a considerable portion
of both little fingers. Those who can have but
few superior relations, such as those near akin
to Tooitonga, or the king, or Veachi, have some
chance of escaping, if their relations are tolerably
healthy. It does not appear that the 782
operation is painful. Mr. Mariner has witnessed 755
more than once little children quarreling
for the honour (or rather out of bravado)
of having it done. The finger is laid flat upon 782
a block of wood: a knife, axe, or sharp stone 755
is placed with the edge upon the line of proposed 752
separation; and a powerful blow being
given with a mallet or large stone, the operation
is finished. From the nature and violence
of the action, the wound seldom bleeds much:
the stump is then held in the smoke and steam
arising from the combustion of fresh plucked
grass: this stops any flow of blood. The
wound is not washed for two days; afterwards
it is kept clean, and heals in about two or three
weeks, without any application whatever. One 782
joint is generally taken off, but some will have 755
a smaller portion, to admit of the operation be- 602

782 ing performed several times on the same finger, 755 in case a man has many superior relations.

602 **Bootoo**, or funeral ceremonies. For a par- 764 tial description of these, reference may be made to the burial of Tootó Nuha; (Vol. I. p. 141.) for a particular one, as it regards the burial of [128] a king, to that of Finow, (chap. 13.A) What remains, therefore, principally to be described, are the peculiarities attending the burial of Tooitonga: in the first place, however, we shall give the names of the different parts of the ceremony of burials in general; the modes of all which have been already related in the instance last referred to: the names are these.

Fala, or procuring small stones, (white and black), and sand, to cover the grave.

Tootoo, or burning the persons of the mourners in spots, with lighted rolls of *tápa*.

Lafa: burning the arm in about six places, each in form of five or six concentric circles.

Toogi: beating the cheeks, and rubbing off the cuticle, with cocoa-nut husk, or some sort of plait, wound round the hand.

Foa Ooloo: wounding the head, and cutting the flesh in various parts, with knives, shells, clubs, spears, &c. in honour of the deceased, and as a testimony of respect for his memory and fidelity to his family.

A [See 2: Mariner, cat. 116, pp. 379-444-- Analyst]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

764 Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before
ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved.
114 Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp. 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised immediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2, chapters I, V).

764 Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat. Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

349 The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults
764 of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes
769 angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *paun*, mischievous, to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work being never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs
[602] buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's
[599] sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain
[604] references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching
[605] Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement
775 among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the
[538] Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150) relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 775
38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably
found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of
burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that [565]
common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a
difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what [774]
point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of
Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly
disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the
pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, 764
only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is
about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the 767
body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be 602
overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the
fahu nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on 764
natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the 767
haa tufunga, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. 602
Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to 784
another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga.*
There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the [609]
haa tufunga take all the mats which have touched the body and are not 767
buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable
modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not
always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about
the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank
from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl
has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own
house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment.
I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who [784]
has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself)
and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but
I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, 763
but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, 593
but not to his grandchildren. 603

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or
less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed 763
from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At 562
some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles
water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. 764

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. 539

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga vo*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu*; it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term ***kuluhulu-tuu*** indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo.

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [857]

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent. [515]

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. 539 585 515

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. 539

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

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539 the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish
226 and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself
584 to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is
554 being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena
and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once
be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

539 **195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku:** Get a *tukuku* and take
825 it to Talanuku.
622 This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was
a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate
our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course
flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony
fish.

539 **196. Hange ha ulua ha heli:** Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing
825 *heli*.
571 The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers.
When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he
makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.
The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is
[461] pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who
when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

539 **198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu:** Like a turtle's family.
825 The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch.
855 About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is re-
593 puted to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her
602 station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way
down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who
do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the
other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents
who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind
to close relatives.

539 **199. Hange ha ika kuo vae:** Like a fish that is divided.
825 This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divis-
[537] ions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken
up into appropriate headings.

539 **200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku:** What, is there a fish
825 that will swim (run) towards the tail?
592 The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The
expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back 539
of the head. 183

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and 515
though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when any- 571
thing is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who 602
gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of 826
his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave 827
vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, 576
or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior 516
is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly: not grasping heartily and offering with 431
good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something 183
with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and 356
inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves [342]
were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that 539
is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in 351
front of his place. 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries 423
are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the 571
boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The 829
expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed.

427. **Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku:** The pot scolding the frying- 539
pan. 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. **Fakamui i mama:** At the end in chewing. 539

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own 855
mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This ex-
pression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the 593
youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. **Kai tama:** Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those [602]
who are unkind to close relatives.

430. **Kuo ta ki hono uho:** It was struck to his naval-corn. 539

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or 852
male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient 844
position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the
future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would 828
become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. **Lau tama fai ki he fatu:** Reckoning a child in the womb. 539

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about 183
it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of 539
a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which 553
she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa.

432. **Ofa a fine paa:** Love of barren woman. 539

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach 851
the intensity of the love of a mother. 554
828

440. **Pele tonoi:** An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. **He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga:** For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593 602

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. [576]

442. **Talatala i fale:** Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. **Tala loto fale:** Telling inside house. 539 521

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak, to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors.

444. **Apijia tae lava:** Ceremony that does not come off. 539 584

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home.

445. **Apitanga a lalahi:** Camp of grown up people. 539 571

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of.

446. **Fangu malingi i fale lahi:** Calabash poured out in big house. 539 415 302 575 571

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house.

447. **Kaumea kaumea faingamea:** Friends, friends quarreling. 539 572

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife.

539 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living
592 together, the excrement of the living together (or of those liv-
829 ing together) is discovered.

571 Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised
622 but the relatives badly off.

565 This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of
602 his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate
431 followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia.*

539 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

595 Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual
183 offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole
577 harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

603 The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be
571 dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

584 Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a
[726] girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi,* a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa,* waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

178
177 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy
262 a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef
[432] is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local
[434] store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his
plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
178 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
226 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it
823 is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

178 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques.
He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did,
181 especially where new methods and novel appliances are more
efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past
age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and
cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of
dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
[177] him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing
respectable, provided only that the music and words are
[795] concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays
cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at
other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other
time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in
no tradition except that of their own making. All in all,
change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to
spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he
would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness
so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for
the preparation of common meals. Generally this group
[513] uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be
necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
592 The relationships of the persons making up the individual
602 households (as determined by a census taken of all the
[125] households in the village) consist of twenty-six different
groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological
groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten
types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

the household head and twelve types of matrilineal relation- 592
ship of household members to the wife of the household 602
head. Out of the total of 268 persons covered by the house- 592
hold census, 32 are living matrilocally. Hence household 602
grouping of relatives is predominantly patrilocal and 591
patrilineal. Patrilocal residence is the rule for marriage.
This is emphasised by the fact that in only five of the
marriages recorded is there matrilocal residence. The 592
biological family of mother, father, and children composes [594]
fourteen of the forty-four households. It is also the basis
for a further fourteen households. Daughter's children and [596]
father's sister's children are the most common kin among
the additional members of all the households.

In Pangai village there are forty-four households. This 592
gives an average household membership of 6.1 persons. 162
Omitting three anomalous households which consist of one person each, the average for forty-one households with a total membership of 265 is 6.5 persons per household. That this figure corresponds to a fairly typical Polynesian norm is shown by the following table:

TABLE 10.—HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP[17]

Place	Pukapuka	Hawaii	Futuna	Uvea	Tonga
Average Membership	6.5	6.9	8.0	8.77	6.5

These figures suggest that the Polynesian household ranges between six and eight persons. For comparison it may be noted that the average size of the American urban family is about 3.43 persons. The Polynesian household, therefore, is much larger than the white family and manages to hold its size despite years of contact with the ways of the white man. The size of the household group may in fact be taken as a rough index of the degree to which the Polynesian in general has assimilated patterns of white behaviour in contradistinction to the tenacity with which he holds on to native patterns of household-organization and the social values which are implied by this type of large household-grouping.

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[17] These comparative figures are from Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull.* 19, 1939, 49. [113]

KINSHIP

602 The structure and functioning of the Tongan kinship
128 system has already been competently described by Gifford
(*Tongan Society*, pp. 21-29). Just because, however, the
functioning of the economic and social systems of village
life is shot through and through with rights and duties based
upon kinship relationships, it is desirable that some brief
account should be given of the way certain kinship relations
affect the everyday life of this commoner village. It should
be noted that no attempt is made to present here the theoretical
kinship structure. Our interest is in what use is made
today of the more significant parts of this structure. Further
material in this connection will be found in other relevant
sections of this report, particularly in the descriptions of the
life cycle (pp. 78-106).

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

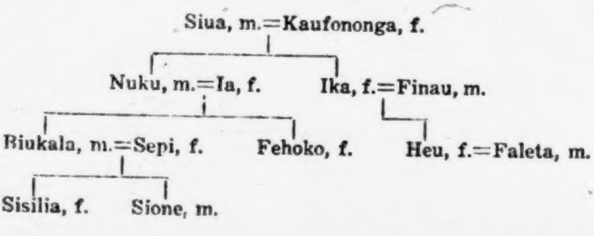
593 There is strong brother-sister avoidance in the village.
602 In Tongan thought, this is conceived of as "showing respect"
(fakaapaapa) for the sibling of the opposite sex. The
[601] respect is extended to include all those classificatory kin
to whom the terms brother and sister may be applied, for
example, cross-cousins. This respect is shown by the
following observances: those who are considered brother
and sister may not quarrel or gossip with or about each
other; they may not sleep in the same house, drink of the
same coconut, eat of the same portion of food; they may not
wear each other's clothes, although the sister may handle
and wash her brother's clothes. Formerly, they might not
178 sit or talk together, only opposite and at some distance from
593 each other. Formerly the sister avoided altogether her
602 brother's house; today she may go to his house for food or
come to the house when the brother is sick, provided she
sits at a safe distance from the sick man. It is permissible
today for the sister to show affection for her brother by
"kissing" him when he is going off on a long journey or
returning from one, as in the case of the sister who excitedly
ran to "kiss" her brother, and as quickly withdrew, when he
returned, after a dangerous journey by cutter, from school
593 in Tongatapu. These attitudes begin at about the time when
602

These attitudes begin at about the time when 593 the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages 602 of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age. 145

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the 607 wife of the brother. Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in [784] labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After [844] the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside [846] her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone [553] else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked 593 according to age and descent. Thus in the following 602 genealogy:

607
561
(601)



both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship ***(mehekitanga)*** to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may [178] be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

604 565 184 It is likely that there is a marked difference in the incidence of claims based on the *fahu* relationship between those of chiefly class on the one hand, and the commoners on the other. On the basis of his theoretical analysis, Piddington[20] for example, distinguishes three related elements in the *fahu*-complex. These elements are economic claims, claims to seniority of rank of sister's child over mother's brother, and claims to authority. He suggests that the relative importance of these elements is different in the case of commoners as compared with the Tongan aristocracy—respect and seniority (social superiority) being the essential items for royal and chiefly *fahu*, economic elements (transference of property, principally) being more important for commoners. From the viewpoint of commoner life, our observations tend to substantiate this suggestion. Whenever our informants discussed the *fahu*-system with us, they were uniformly thinking in economic terms, in terms, that is, of the transfer of pigs, food, mats and other items of Tongan wealth. Seniority, respect, authority, are of course, basic to this transfer as giving rationalization and justification for its occurrence, but these elements are secondary, not uppermost in the villager's mind. On the other hand, all accounts of chiefly *fahu*-behaviour agree with master ideas of Tongan culture in emphasizing the great significance of seniority and respect in the functioning of this aspect of the kinship system.

KINSHIP RECIPROCITY

602 In the complete interrelation of elements that make up the village kinship system as a theoretical institutional structure, there is a reciprocity of rights and duties which governs the relations of each relative to each and every other. Insofar as these rights and duties are not theoretical merely, but provide justification and basis for an interchange of economic and social goods and services, it is obvious that while there may be a theoretical reciprocity, in actual practice it may be hard to secure the conditions such that practice conforms to theory. Death may break the social fabric or marriage outside of one's village of birth. In

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[113] [20] Williamson, R. W., *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia*, edited by Ralph Piddington, Cambridge, 1937, 284-285.

either case, key-relatives may be missing or may live far away and so a reciprocity of relationship fails to work out in practice. 602

Illustrations may clarify these generalizations. Thus, whereas Heu is *ilamutu* to Beni, her mother's brother, Beni's mother's brother has been dead many, many years and there is none from whom Beni may obtain property by virtue of the *fahu*-relationship. For him therefore, the *fahu*-relationship represents a one-sided drain on his resources for which he has no opportunity to recoup himself. The same situation would arise if Beni's mother's brother were still living, but in residence, say, in Tongatapu or Ha'apai. Beni might see this theoretical mother's brother no more frequently than once in ten years. Again, therefore, the relationship would be one-sided. 602 604

It was probably a realization of the inequalities that result from such a lop-sided implementation of kinship obligations which militated formerly against marriage with mates from distant villages, and which is still today a factor of importance that is carefully considered by the elders before consent to inter-village marriage is granted. The preferred marriage, that is, is marriage with a mate of one's own village (provided no close blood-relationship is involved), and if this is not possible, then marriage with a mate from a village that is relatively near to Pangai. This is the best way of ensuring that the mother's brother in each generation will be on hand to provide his share of economic goods and services and also, that a father's sister will be present to teach children rules of respect. 582 602 604

Elders are often angry if a mate is chosen from a distant village. Thus, when Faleta came from Ha'apai to court Heu, the grandmother of Heu (her mother was dead) spat on Faleta and reviled him with evil words each time he appeared in her house to drink *kava*. She would have no mate for her grandchild who did not come from Pangai, she screamed. Otherwise, how would her great-grandchildren get on without a father's sister to teach them proper respect for authority, and without father's relatives to help them with goods and services at feast-times? She would rather die, she said, than have her granddaughter marry a stranger. And when her granddaughter persisted with her choice, then

582 the old lady wailed to everyone that she hoped to die before
602 the marriage took place. The marriage did take place. The
604 old lady did not die. In the twelve years since the marriage, there have been no children.

591 In the case just mentioned, the matter was complicated
604 by the fact that Heu had to stay in Pangai to take care of
602 the old woman. In other cases the wife would go to her husband's village to live. There the children would find their husband's sister to teach them respect. But the mother's brother would continue to reside in the mother's village. Then the children would learn respect, but they would find it hard to draw on the resources of the mother's brother. From all points of view, therefore, the system of relationships that unites one generation to the father's sister and the mother's brother of the preceding generation can best be put in operation if all parties concerned live in the same village or in closely connected villages. If this kind of residential requirement is impossible, then reciprocity of kinship tends to crumble before the blows of a logic of distance.

THE LIFE CYCLE

PREGNANCY

843 A woman uses several signs as an indication of pregnancy. She finds herself without much appetite and feels physically weak. She is also abnormally sensitive to bad smells. Menstruation ceases. Later there is darkening of the area round the nipples and a swelling of the breasts. There are no *tapu* for the husband during the period of pregnancy, but the mother must be careful of many things. It is *tapu* for her to wind things round her neck lest her baby be born strangled by the umbilical cord. She must not cut or pull buttons off her husband's shirts in the course of sewing and repair or her baby's ears and mouth might be torn or damaged during delivery. It is *tapu* to eat while sitting on her husband's sleeping-mat lest the baby's head become soft and swollen. It is *tapu* to eat or drink hot food or the baby will be born with a raw, reddish skin. Eating octopus or reef-foods is likely to give the baby a spotted skin; eating certain kinds of fish will prevent a development of

feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the 846
public section and separated from the mother by the bark 574
cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or [602)
four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes 846
kava while the group sits talking. A man comes into the 574
house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of 276
the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the [431)
child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking
continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors
continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there
is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring 846
gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. 574
After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. 431
Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. 602
Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally
invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food
and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first 846
attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during 574
the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's 602
relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to 829
village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that she and her family should be honoured above all others. For the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life. It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. 553
The name is given by the father's sister *(mehekitanga)*, by 604
her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the
father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of
giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which
the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the [431)
child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days [574)
later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she
receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been [431)
collected together by the father's mother and the mother's
mother.

881 that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during
the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl
[867] must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with
[593] the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl henceforward
[602] observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

881 Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is supercised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the
304 occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert.
178 Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the
743 boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is performed
759 by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of
178 shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoulders
881 of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, become
304 a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion
152 or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the
574 431 passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity

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881 [21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice.
Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe
178 old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He
304 adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances. Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the
[574] village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made about the operation.

582 and because of a considerable freedom in inter-village
visiting, there is a strong tendency for mates to be chosen
from villages other than Pangai. However, although mates
chosen from local Pangai girls are in a bare minority, there
are nonetheless frequent instances when Pangai men marry
Pangai girls.

CROSS COUSINS

582 Cross-cousin marriage is not uncommon among the
565 chiefly and noble class in Tonga. There is no record of such
marriage however, among any of the married couples in
Pangai.[22] None of our informants in this commoner village
would ever entertain the idea that it was a possible pattern
of marriage-relationship. They all felt it impossible for
582 them, whatever might be the customs of the nobles, because
565 of the fact that there is strong kinship-avoidance from
puberty onward between those classed as cross-cousins, and
602 none would feel happy in breaking down this attitude of
605 avoidance in the intimacies of married life. This suggests
the point that cross-cousin marriage among the noble class
[152] might well result in acute psychological conflict brought
about by the clash of incompatible attitudes: a *tapu* on
intimacy between these cousins up to marriage, the necessity
of breaking down this *tapu* when marriage occurs. The
acuteness of this conflict would obviously depend on the
strength with which kinship-avoidances are inculcated in the
minds of the young, especially in the minds of those for whom
parents contemplated a cross-cousin marriage. Possibly the
culture elaborates some fiction to take care of this problem,
but there are no hints in the literature to suggest what form
582 this fiction might take. In any case, the culture of the
commoner can side-step such possible conflicts because of the
565 fact that it refuses to countenance cross-cousin marriage.

585
MARRIAGE CEREMONY

178 The patterns governing the marriage ceremony in the
village today show a natural blending of the old and the new.

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[22] Cross-cousin marriage, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 16) "was practised, especially among people of rank." He adds that "such marriages were no doubt common . . . in the rank and file of the Tongan population."

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of
[602] this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together
at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs
[574] for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the
same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark
cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the
morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of
the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's
[574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he
presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for
her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's
bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and
successfully married. According to village pattern, they
833 have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary
position is the prone position with the man above. Less
frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on
the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and
[841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the
menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may
often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom.
526 They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs,
mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not
been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment
may have to be made over many successive months after the
marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the
[554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of
food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations
incurred may often assume for the groom's household a
crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great
labour and planning before all the obligations are finally
cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal
178 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may
now be presented to show both additions and limitations on
the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older
brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of
593 the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more
mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

first intercourse; the longer the period of waiting, the 585 833
greater the affection.

On Friday, Tui made a small feast for his family. On 585
Sunday he again made another feast, larger this time. It 574
consisted of ten giant *taro,* four large yams and two large
pigs (of the third size, *ha'amo*). Many of the bride's family 585
came to Pangai from Toula bringing with them gifts of 431
mats: Vikai, a distant relative of the bride, brought five *kie*- 602
mats for the groom's ceremonial skirt; the bride's mother
brought four *kie*-mats for the bride. These mats were put 574
on and the whole group went to the church service. After the service, another relative of the bride presented her with one length of bark cloth and one *kie*-skirt, other relatives doing likewise later in the day. All these mats and bark cloth presented to the couple by both bride and groom's relatives became part of the "trousseau" outfit of the married couple. They will be stored up, used as required, and then passed on as gifts to other relatives when they in turn get married. The bark cloth may in time wear out, but it is replaced by the bark cloth that the bride will herself make. The mats will last for many years and thus play their part in the endless chain of reciprocal gift-giving whereby the kinship bonds are strengthened and validated by consensually-accepted symbols.

Following upon this presentation, which always consists 585
of the giver's taking off the garment the recipient is wearing 574
and substituting for it the garment which is presented, the oven was opened. All the food was presented to the bride's family who immediately wrapped the food up in coconut-containers and set off for their home village carrying the food with them.

On the following Tuesday night the marriage was 585
finally consummated. The bride was too exhausted to rise the next morning, but Tui's wife noticed that there was blood
on her dress. Tui immediately set to work to make a further
oven consisting of three yams, eight giant *taro,* and one pig. [574]
Word was sent to the bride's mother who came hurrying over from Toula accompanied by her sisters. The oven was opened, food eaten, and remains packed up by the mother when she returned to Toula. For the following seven nights

DEATH

761 For the viliager as for all other humans death at last comes to cut short the span of life. The patterns of behaviour that he has elaborated to enable him to handle this crisis are again a mixture of the new and the old. They may be most clearly described by showing the way they control the behaviour of a group of relatives when the household head dies.

763
784
593 When the father is dying, it is *tapu* for his children to come into the house in which the sick man is lying, or dying. The mother may attend the dying man, but not the children. This is part of the general set of *tapu* that govern the relation of father to children. The remains of the father's food, for example, or his drinking-nut, are *tapu* to his children. Children must not touch the father's head. A child being played with or fondled by the father may not eat food at the same time. It is *tapu* for a child to wear the father's *vala*.

763
[593]
[602] The dying man therefore, is attended by his wife and by relatives of himself and his wife. They shake the man to keep him alive. They pray over the man, use whatever medicines are suggested. But the dying man may speak, he may say that he has been mean or deceitful to someone. In this case, the situation is considered pretty hopeless.
764 When it is evident that life has finally ebbed away, the wife closes her husband's eyes and mouth. She wipes the body with warm water, rubs it with coconut-oil, dresses the corpse in "best" clothes. Bark cloth is wrapped round the chest. Mats are spread in the middle of the house, bark cloth is placed on top, and a pillow. Then the corpse is laid on this "bed" and covered up to the chin with the finest mats that the household can find. Close relatives, dressed in their ceremonial skirts sit round the corpse, fanning it to keep away flies, and keeping up a continuous wailing and chanting *(tangi)*. This is generally continued all night long. Just
[593] after daylight breaks, the man's children are allowed into the house for a moment to give the deceased one last greeting in the form of a kiss *(uma)*. The corpse is then wrapped in a five fathom length of bark cloth, placed on a wooden frame and carried to the village cemetery for burial.

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance,
there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or
nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to
arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
[602] Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
[767] gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
[782] being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
[644] to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
276 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
574 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
767 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
624 Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
565 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
644 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant
chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their
stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one
piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
[784] then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu*
to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
574 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other
767

[24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
[178] (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

764
276 members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After
574 one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief
767 speech which runs as follows:

[537]
[539]

> "Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764
574 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family represented goes home with his or its division of the food which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When
765 this decorating work is finished, another feast is held.
Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar
574 cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together
276 and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-
767 circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 Commencing with the night following the burial and for the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period
602 (*mohe* or *nofoaki putu*) for all the close relatives of the deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On 765
the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast 602
to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*.
The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and 765
girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from 602
puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house 574
there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit 276
drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages, if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, 765
this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During [784)
this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance,
or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning- 765
period may last for six months or more. The status of the 565
deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and 554
the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth 784
making.

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* 764
is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his 767
father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to a general superintendence over the burial. For his services
Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has 767
the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred 554
on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua. This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After
each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. [784)
He eats by himself and does not take any part in food-
preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must [264)
[252)

is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, 755
carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the 757
shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be [783]
left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of
healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and 759
some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not
dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be
effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do 755
not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks 757
and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base [278]
is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun
shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the
middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings,
some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white
man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his
back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with
a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She
lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the
swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the
swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief
and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite
cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking
the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone
suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind
give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body [753]
are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the
patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the 758
Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the
sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing
something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his
stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European,
though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing
is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to [844]
have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old [759]
midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, 752
is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the
boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness.
So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer
theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had
herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that 753
is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in 858
593
602

753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that
many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native
[302] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring
a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse
[758] to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised,
are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long
amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish
on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

Both bride
585 and bridegroom are prepared for each other by bathing and anointing
[515] with sweet-scented oil, and are clad in fine mats and cloth. On
[302] both sides pigs are killed and cooked, and all the usual preparations
[292] made for feasting. The lavishness of the feast, and the amount of
[262] cloth and mats collected, are indications of the wealth and station of
[554] the families. When all is ready the bridegroom, accompanied by a
● [602] man or woman who is called his "mother" *fae*, and who must be a
member of his mother's, or his mother's mother's brother's family,
goes to the bride's home, and finds her adorned and waiting for him.
[602] She too is attended by a "mother" of her mother's, or mother's
mother's brother's family. A procession is formed. Bride and
[302] bridegroom lead, closely followed by the "mothers" bearing baskets
in which are bottles of oil, wherewith they continually anoint the
couple lest the oil dry on them. Then come the bride's female
relatives, bearing the mats and cloth which her folk have prepared
for the wedding; and last are her male kin with the food, including
a special basket called the *veifua*, distinctive of weddings and funerals,
and which is the principal food offering of the ceremony. When the
party reaches the house the "mothers" seat themselves on the dais
of mats under the shelter of greenery, and bride and bridegroom sit
on their respective "mothers'" laps. The house is filled with women
connected with the bride, no men are there, their place is with the
food, which is their especial care. Presently a woman is called from
585 the house. She approaches the bride, assists her to rise, and leads
her by the hand into the house, where the women divest her of her
clothes. The practice nowadays, whatever older custom may have
been, is for the girl to wear inner garments which are not disturbed,
but she is stripped of native cloth and mats and her wedding dress of
European material. This clothing has been provided by the bride's
family, and will subsequently fall to the share of the bridegroom's
people. She is then arrayed in clothing, inferior in quality and
quantity to that taken from her, but still good, provided by the
bridegroom, and led forth again to her "mother's" lap; but presently
another woman is called from the house to come and lead her in.
Again she is undressed, and clothed afresh in raiment given by the
husband. The clothing taken from her on this second occasion is for
the bride's people. Then she is taken out to her seat on her
"mother's" lap. If the bridegroom is wealthy the bride may be
dressed in several fresh changes, all the dresses given by the groom
[276] being gifts to the bride's family. Usually two changes suffice. Then
the *kava* is beaten up, the bowl being placed at a convenient distance
off in front of the dais. When the *kava* is ready for drinking, but
before it has been served, the husband and his "mother" rise and
go into the house, where the women undress him, putting aside his
[292] [301] clothing for the bride's family. He is dressed again in clothes, of

the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview 582
with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of [622]
confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European
contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will [602]
of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may
often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the
"brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—
who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that
the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule
pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain
is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other
pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the
unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate.

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the 583
parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age
the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious
ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost
happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows
to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived,
and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the
inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a
performance of the proper nuptial rites.

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the 584
muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented 533
flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display
much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature.

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be 302
cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks 884
at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the 836
hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. 585
Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was 586
easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given.
Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent
by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a
Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the
ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of
the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long
union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite
prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated,
but would not be bound "till death do you part."

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred 595
that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, 562
indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have
always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had
many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the 622
gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming 595
into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband 773
two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king
Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that
even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the
outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might
regard it.

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women 622
in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the 837
persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the 421
king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with 643
which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he 687
ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared
his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three
years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural
human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism.
Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is 622
no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby 837
deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, 684
was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being
killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the
chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his 837
wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage,
but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He
forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend.

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by 582
the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. 601
All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* 602
to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, 605
but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse 593
between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of 565
cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to
commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen
a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of
society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when 643
the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established 581
custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his 582
successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in
rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the
Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to
become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the
cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's
daughter.

in Tonga in pre-Caucasian days, is strong to-day. The 186
limited outlook of heathen days has been replaced with an 178
appreciation of the position of Tonga as a recognized nation
of the world, one with which the great powers have entered
into treaty.

That Tonga will adopt Euro-American culture to the 000
total exclusion of her own is not to be expected. On the
contrary it is to be anticipated that the hybrid culture of
to-day will maintain its distinctiveness. Certainly, it will
never become absolutely identical with any other culture.

Euro-American acculturation appears to have made 177
greatest headway in religion. Material culture has also been 178
considerably modified, though the underlying economic basis
of life remains the same as in heathen days. Society has 177
been altered least. Some of the extreme developments, such
as the arbitrary power of chiefs, polygyny, and the office of 178
Tamaha (held by the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga) have 571
been discontinued, but the fundamental organisation of
society remains the same. It is in this department of culture
that the greatest incongruity with Euro-American culture
appears. We see the speech tabu between brother and sister [602]
and the *vasu* or right of the nephew to seize his mother's-
brother's possessions flourishing side by side with Christianity and daily wireless news.

797 close of 1832, there were fourteen in operation, in
871 which the inhabitants were taught to read and
177 write. In these schools, there were more than two
thousand persons under instruction, of every age
and from all classes of the community, from the
child of three years to the man of grey hairs, and
from the king himself to the meanest of his serfs.

The island of Uiha was the only place where any
797 serious opposition was met. Containing, as it did,
798 the burial grounds of the kings and chiefs of the
[764] group, this place was the stronghold of heathen
worship, and, for a time, the fear and respect which
[643] its chiefs had for Taufa-ahau, did not deter them
from clinging to it. They even thought that he
[669] had betrayed his country by leaving heathenism
for Christ, and they, therefore, took up arms to
resist his authority. Some of these opponents
[602] were the king's near kinsmen, and had been, up to
that time, his closest friends. By prudent but firm
and necessary measures, Uiha was at last brought
back to its allegiance to the king; and, shortly
afterwards, the whole range of the Haabai archipelago
lay, a peaceful and glorious trophy, at the
Saviour's feet.

797 Passing over all the intervening years, during
which the advancement of religion in Haabai was
simultaneous with that of the Friendly Islands at
large, there were in that particular group, when
we arrived in 1853,—22 chapels, 1,850 church
members, 55 day schools, 2,075 scholars. These
results had not been attained without immense and
untiring labour on the part of my predecessors.
The names of Messrs. John Thomas, Peter Turner,
William Cross, John Watkin, Richard B. Lyth,
Stephen Rabone, Charles Tucker, William Webb,

nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount 764
of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation
of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and 765
black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried [177]
through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans,
especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan [292]
practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other [576]
than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In [602]
the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased
will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the
deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if 292
a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. 576
A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards 554
from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened
to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would [643]
even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without
first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some
of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old
travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened
to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the
waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body,
but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up
the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but
enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut)
around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly
worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social 764
elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably 565
from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high 775
chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

CONCLUSION

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his lifetime 775
it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. 764
The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in [776]
their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile,
therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them [602]
for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecutions, [828]
and would probably soon worry them into making the desired
transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the
deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan observes
the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There 774
is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Paradise, [772]
Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on
returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his
friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it.
Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in [776]
Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni,
Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall
for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made 115
in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea, Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his debtor.

TUBOU COLLEGE,
NUKUALOFA, TONGA.

In terms of the traditional social and political organisation, all 421
land in Tonga belonged to the sacred Tui Tonga. After the familiar 423
feudal fashion (for traditional Tongan society was a "fully developed 565
feudal system"[4]), there were chiefs who were "lords of large districts 643
of territory"[5] and who held their lands from the king in return for 427
taxes and military service. These "principal barons, as they may be [602]
**called"[6] sublet their holdings to their lesser kinsmen and followers,
and everyone held land from his superior in a pattern similar to that
between the king himself and his barons. Gifford quotes W. D.
Alexander in this connection as follows:[7]**

> **From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in
> fief." The great landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject
> to the king, and they in turn subdivided them among their kinsmen and
> followers. It was on the great chiefs that the king depended for** [701]
> **military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by
> which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king** [651]
> **received a general tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the
> order, claimed the service or property of their tenants. The lowest
> order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The "Tuas"
> could not call anything their own. The great chiefs could seize on
> whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives** [466]
> **could assess labor upon the whole community whenever he pleased.
> The chiefs also claimed a share of all the fish taken by their tenants.** [226]
> **The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the Society and** [171]
> **Hawaiian Islands. On a father's death his property descended to his** [428]
> **children. On the mother's death her property remained with her
> husband and children, not excepting her *dower* land, which did not
> revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, where tribal
> tenure prevailed.**

This passage needs some elaboration to be entirely clear, for it is 613
closely associated with the lineage organisation of Tonga. The Tongan 565
lineage, known as the *ha'a*, was based upon patrilineal descent, but 622
**depended upon the existence of a powerful chief (i.e., an eldest son in a
line of eldest sons) at its head to preserve it. With the political
vicissitudes of these chiefs, however, their lineages waxed and waned,
and at times the weak ones were absorbed by the stronger ones so that
structurally drastic realignments would occur. The Tongan *ha'a* was
therefore not a pure lineage in the classical sense, but a political
association of people around a lineage core under a powerful chief.
This clarifies Alexander's reference to "kinsmen and followers", for a
lineage contained both; and to "the great landlords", who were the heads
of these lineages.**

What was the role of such a lineage organisation in land tenure? 613
Referring to the present, Gifford says that "the lands of each lineage in 421
Tongatabu tend to form a compact area"[8] and refers to a map which 423
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[4] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[5] Cook 1784a:412, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[6] loc. cit.
[7] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[8] Gifford 1929:33.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

423 on a section of it, always on the understanding that the holder has the
311 right to demand it back after the crop is taken out. No rights other
241 than those of cultivation accrue to the borrower. Although such an
476 arrangement involves definitely no rent in money or in kind, it is
advantageous to the allotment holder in that the section so lent is
[427] thereby kept free from weeds and heavy undergrowth.[30] The fact that
no rent is involved actually strengthens the hand of the holder when
he demands his land back. As far as rights to land are concerned, the
same principles apply when a man uses part of the *api* legally held by
his brother, or when a number of brothers use the *api* of their father.

592 Individual land holders can call upon several types of *work groups*
241 to assist them in working their land. The most important work group
[476] is the household which, under the leadership of the head of household,
performs most of the day-to-day tasks of cultivation. Its importance
lies in its relative permanence. For while the other work groups considered below come into operation only in connection with the heaviest tasks such as clearing and occasionally planting, and therefore tend to be relatively impermanent, the household deals with the constantly recurring need for weeding and other minor tasks, and is the only unit which can engage in long term planning on the basis of its own self-interest. It is the basic unit of production and consumption; and its members are bound together by common interests which transcend the
[476] economic sphere. Its significance needs no further elaboration. But
beyond this unit, three other types of work group are found: the *tou ngaue*, the *kautaha* and the *tou lalaga*.

476 The *tou ngaue* is a working party which may comprise anything
241 from two or three men to about eight or nine, the members of which
work co-operatively for each of the members in turn. The members are
[462] not fed by the person for whom they are working as in the case of
Pangai reported by the Beagleholes,[31] but each feeds himself and then goes back to work. In this way they achieve the ends which demand co-operative work, but avoid the encumbrance of preparing food for others. At the time of my investigation, there were three *tou ngaue* in the village under investigation. Their memberships were 3, 5, and 8 men respectively.

Kinship does not appear to play an important part in the formation
476 of these groups. While there are occasional *tou ngaue* which have a
241 large proportion of members who are kin, the principle of kinship
602 does not specifically enter into the definition of the *tou ngaue* as such.
When asked whom he would choose to be members of his *tou ngaue*, a man once replied, "My friends". But when pressed further to define what he meant by "friends", he said, "Those who work hard on my plantation". "Would you choose your brothers or close relatives particularly?" "No". The relationship seems therefore to be a purely economic one.

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[30] The sort of arrangement involved in the work group known as the *tou tu'u* described by the Beagleholes is particularly interesting in this regard, Beaglehole 1941:33-34.

[31] Beaglehole 1941:32.

The *kautaha* is described by one informant as a "big society". It is 476
formed for a specific purpose and joined by men interested in achieving
this purpose. One example would make the matter clear. In one village 241
I visited there was a *kautaha* with a membership of about 40 men, 245
comprising the majority of the adult males in the village, which was [462]
formed for the purpose of extending banana plantations. The overall target was that each member should have 1,000 banana shoots planted strictly for himself by a certain day in December; and once this overall aim was agreed upon, they split themselves up into four *tou ngaue* of 9 or 10 members each for the purpose of actually doing the work on the land. While the *kautaha* as a whole was interested in the progress of its members towards the target, the actual organisation of work was left to the various *tou ngaue*: these were the media through which the members ensured that their own bananas were planted. A lot of hard work was carried out in clearing the bush and planting the shoots, and on the appointed day the leading members of the *kautaha* did a complete tour of the plantations of each member to ensure formally for the *kautaha* that the bananas had actually been planted. It was an almost ceremonial affair, ending with the consumption of an elaborate feast.

The *tou lalaga* is the women's work group formed for the making 476
of *tapa* cloth. The task of joining together pieces of beaten bark into 287
large pieces of *tapa* cloth is a laborious one requiring the labour of [462]
many hands, and for this purpose women would call upon their friends to come and help. The friends in their turn would call on their own friends, and in the end 50 or more women may be involved. In this case the women are fed by the owner of the *tapa* cloth.

7—KINSHIP AND LAND USE

There are two important ways in which fully autonomous house- 241
holds may be connected with one another through use of the land which 592
they work. In the first place, when land is short and a number of 476
families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the *api* of others or by using the *api* of those who are away from
the village. In the second place, a group of brothers or of a father 241
and his sons, although living in separate households and owning 592
separate *api* at law, may combine together their entire holdings and 593
work them as a single unit. In the village under study there were two 476
clear-cut cases of this sort. In each case the *api* concerned were contiguous, and clearing, at which the men concerned worked together,
ranged from one *api* into the next. Copra was certainly produced jointly [245]
and the proceeds controlled by the senior member; but I am uncertain whether food gardens were individually owned.

In both cases, kinship is an important factor in the alignment of 592
households. Of the 19 households that share the use of the *api* of others 241
in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 476
share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated house- 602
holds, 5 have no relatives in the village anyway, leaving only 4 which

592 share with unrelated households in preference to sharing with related
241 ones.[32]

476 One of my informants deliberately played down the role of kinship
602 in land matters. He argued that landless people share the use of the
592 land of their friends, people with whom they are on specially good
241 terms; people who are closely associated in other spheres of activity,
476 such as the religious or the economic; and above all one tries to obtain
572 the use of lands which are specially fertile or which lie near to the
602 village. While "friends" here may include relatives, this is not
necessary. Such an explanation would, of course, cover the cases which, from other points of view, appear to be inexplicable random variations; and at the same time show how "open" relations through the land can be, giving the land tenure system much of its flexibility.

474 Thus it has appeared that kinship plays no great part in the
602 organisation of labour, but a perceptibly greater part in the handling
311 of the land resources available to the community. But kinship not only
476 affects the people's relation to their land in the way already indicated;
it also does so through inheritance. The rules of inheritance have already been given, but it may be added here that it is through inheritance that particular individuals come to control a duplication of *api*;[33] that females can hold land; and that the title to *tofia* holdings is passed on from one generation to the next in the chiefly line thus perpetuating and strengthening the most important factor for political control in the kingdom.

592 In the village under investigation, however, the range of kin recog-
602 nized for these purposes does not seem to extend very far. While
there are clusters of households between whom there are specially strong ties of kinship, the great majority of them recognize such relations with only one or two other households. The count taken, from one household to the next, reveals that in most cases these relations are based on affinal ties. The range of connections over the whole village is as follows:

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF KIN AMONG HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Other Households containing Kin	No. of Households
0	18
1	21
2	28
3	16
4	11
5	8
6	4
	106

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[32] The reasons for such preference are obscure, but the explanations given to me were largely in terms of economic self-interest. See, for instance, the section on work groups, p. 108.

[33] See, for instance, Beaglehole 1941:18.

This table shows that it is certainly not a case of "every household 592
being related to every other household", and emphasizes the compara- 602
tive independence of Tongan households. All the same the figures are remarkably low, even for a Tongan village, I am told. How is this to be explained?

It seems that at least part of the explanation is to be found in the 621
fact that there are so many people in the village who come from a 592
different area: 47 of the 106 households in the village are those of men 166
who are not of local origin, their places of origin being tabulated below:[24]

TABLE 4

PLACES OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Place of Origin of Head of Household	No. of Households
Niuafo'ou	6
Niuatoputapu	3
Ha'apai	18
Vava'u	8
Tungua	3
Eua	4
Other (mainly villages in Tongatapu)	5
	47

Now 47 out of 106, representing 44.5 per cent of all the house- [171]
holds in the village, is an unusually high figure compared with, for instance, Fiji. From discussions in Tonga, I am told that it is also a high figure even for a Tongan village, so that this village must be regarded as atypical in this respect. But why this unusual feature?

The land tenure system, of course, in its principles opens up the [423]
possibility for movement from one area to another in search of land, and may be expected to produce effects of the type noticed in this
village. In fact, however, explanation of the mixed nature of the village [361]
population was given to me in terms of the relatively central position of the village and its proximity to the capital town and to the schools
and other institutions situated in or around it. Something of this was 621
seen in B's comment on p. 102; but it can be confirmed by figures relating 592
to the distribution of land in the village itself. Below is a table of the 423
relative distribution of land among households of local and of immi- 166
grant origin respectively:

TABLE 5

RELATIVE LAND DISTRIBUTION AMONG LOCAL AND IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

No. of *Api* per Household	No. of Households		Percentage of Households in Each Category	
	L.	I.	L.	I.
0	7	20	12	42.5
1	39	23	66	49
2	7	4	12	8.5
3	4	—	6.5	—
4	2	—	3.5	—
	59	47	100.0	100.0

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[24] The first six places named are other islands in the Tongan Group, except Ha'apai, which is a group of islands within the Tongan Group.

It is clear that the people who come from another village or island
592 fare worse than those of local origin as far as land distribution is
621 concerned. While I have no data comparing their position here with
423 what it would have been in their own villages (and it is likely that
166 they are worse off here) it seems clear that their presence in this village cannot be explained consistently in terms of any search for land. As far as the land tenure system is concerned, therefore, it would appear wrong to suppose that just because it opens up the possibility for movement, such movement will actually take place.

8—LAND TENURE AND VILLAGE STRUCTURE

From the material already given it seems clear that the structure
621 of this village is certainly not based upon a firm lineage organisation.
613 The overall principle which binds the people together is simply their
622 common subjection to their traditional overlord. The amorphous nature
[592] of kinship in its role of binding together the different households of the village has been demonstrated, so that from this point of view the
[166] village is largely an aggregation of isolated households. It has been pointed out that the village is atypical in having so many persons who come from other areas, and much of the nature of the village structure must be due to this factor. But how far the village is also atypical in respect of its lack of an overall lineage organisation is not clear, and I made no specific comparative enquiries along these lines. The data supplied by Gifford,[33] however, suggest that the tendency is for the large modern villages to be of the form observed here.

Such a form of village structure is, I suggest, rather to be expected
621 from the nature of village evolution in Tonga. The development of the
361 nucleated village form is of comparatively recent origin, dating back
178 to certainly not earlier than the 17th century. Before that there were only peasant farmers cultivating their holdings from farmsteads
613 scattered throughout the countryside. From the nature of the Tongan
622 lineage, it is clear that not all such farmers who came under the control
621 of any particular chief need necessarily be related by blood. When
361 they came together to form villages, therefore, it was more on the basis of common allegiance to the feudal overlord than on the basis of relationship in the male line.

To return to our village, however, we may say that although ties
621 of kinship or lineage affiliation between households are of attenuated
613 development in this village, they are supplemented by other ties—those
602 based upon religious affiliation, economic co-operation, and even on
571 general "friendship". In a large part, these ties have developed as a result of living together in villages; and, taken together with kinship ties, they are seen to influence the distribution (using this word in its widest sense) and working of the land in ways which are not contem-
[423] plated by the legal system, but which do not therefore violate it. Land tenure, for its part, also produces certain associations and interdependencies between households, which play an important part in the final elaborations of the village structure.

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[33] Gifford 1929:8-10.

161 Another significant area within Tongatapu from which migration to
162 Nuku'alofa occurred was Mu'a, the next largest town on the island.
166 It accounted for over half of the migrants from the mid-eastern district.
361 This gave rise to the hypothesis that there appeared to be some
correlation between town size and migration to Nuku'alofa. This was supported in the case of most Tongatapu settlements, in Ha'apai where Pangai-Hihifo accounted for nearly one-third of all migrants from Ha'apai, and Neiafu which accounted for 41 percent of migrants from Vava'u. These figures were in excess of their share of the population of their respective groups. Migration to Nuku'alofa appeared more significant from the larger towns, while migration from the smaller settlements appeared more rurally orientated.

Although the larger towns were generally not the most affected by out-movement there is no evidence of significant 'short distance rural-urban' or 'step' migration towards them such as has been noted of
[602] migratory movements elsewhere.[21] This is understandable when one considers the limited—and declining—attractions of these towns, the ease of transport to Tongatapu, and the Tongan kinship network which
[602] ensures a welcome in almost every major island of the kingdom.[22] The
precise destination of the migrant is usually determined by where he has relations on whom he can depend for shelter, food and often land.[23] If he has no relation in Nuku'alofa he will move to relations in rural Tongatapu, and if later he finds work in Nuku'alofa he may choose not to change his residence because of the short distances involved. It is well to recall the limited size of Tonga when making comparisons with migratory movements in larger countries.

Migration from Ha'apai, as expected, was of greater significance. This group is densely settled, it had the lowest growth rate in the kingdom, migration was more male-dominated, and it had the lowest proportion of children in the school age group. Migration from Ha'apai further demonstrated the importance of traditional, and especially kinship ties in forging a migratory chain. An example of this was Ha'ano, on the island of the same name, which had a very high migration rate. Early contact with Seventh Day missionaries had led to the migration of several families to Nuku'alofa. Several of these, taking advantage of better education gained through contact with the mission, became influential citizens. The significance of education in improving status, and the increased obligations towards one's kin consequent on this improved status, was reflected in the number of fellow villagers who followed upon the initial movement to Nuku'alofa. In the larger Ha'apai islands there was a definite correlation between population density and

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[21] See McGee (1965): 209.

[22] As, for example, evidenced by gift exchange. See Walsh (1969b): 97.

[23] Walsh (1969b): 95.

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed ex- 161
pectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors 162
concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, 166
of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and 361
unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of
Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more con-
gested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for
social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new 571
social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin 602
groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with
population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors in- 178
fluencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and 871
important being education, which permits social mobility in a society
still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to 555
achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even 565
the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has 436
many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems 171
and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts
of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to 166
Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development 179
policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among 361
islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu
overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of oppor-
tunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to 178
meet the problems associated with population growth and movement
with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today,
but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

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[35] Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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MACHIKO AOYAGI

If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, 795
he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep 554
on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the
status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be
promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour
and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

Fakaafe for the New Year

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for 796
the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the
Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast,
thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness
of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a
grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* 796
(ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) 574
by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this [292]
occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the [554]
church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) [794]
in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free
Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years.
Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth [252]
oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers
us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of
the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
4	the members of his household only	32 (*malanga*), 8 and his wife, The household members.	4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc.
6	his son and 12	30 (*malanga*), 5. The household members.	10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc.
14	two of his friends, the members of his household	28 (*malanga*), 20, a woman from another village.	6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef.

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[14] Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

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TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe* (continued)

Household number	Those who prepared food	Those who took a meal together	Food served
16	24, 28, 23, 15, 22, 21's daughter's husband	22 (*malanga*), 4, 28, 23, 28's children, *24* & his wife, *15*, 5's brother, *21's daughter's husband*, husband's sisters, wife's sisters.	16 pieces of yam, 6 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, more than 20 fish, 4 pigs, 6 pounds of canned beef, etc.
29 steward	23's wife, his friends	5 (*malanga*), 8, 23's wife, wife's brother's son.	4 pieces of yam, a lot of sweet potato, 4 fish, 2 pigs, etc.
30	the members of his household, 31's wife.		
32	the members of his household only	The household members 29 (*malanga*), 34, 30's son, one friend.	6 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 30 of sweet potato, 10 fish, 1 pig, etc.
34	1, 16, 5's son	6 (*malanga*), a couple of his friends. The household members.	5 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 40 of sweet potato, 20 fish, 1 pig, etc.
2	the members of his household only	7 (*malanga*), *33's wife 33's brother and his wife, 8 and his wife* (2's daughter), *9's daughter.*	4 pieces of yam, 4 of *kape*, 2 baskets of sweet potato, 1 fish, 1 pig, 1 chicken, 1 duck.
18	the members of his household only	*malanga* (next villager), 2, 27 and his wife, 25 (steward) and his wife, *19's wife.*	8 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 6 big fish, 4 small fish, 2 pigs, etc.
26	31	18, 25, 27, 31.	8 pieces of yam, 8 fish, 1 pig, etc.

Note to Table:
Those italicised belong to different religious sects from the host.

1c

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected
on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular
rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34,
18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his
mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's
relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or,
even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder
brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining
11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
api tukuhau for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother;
wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic
Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
famili or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621
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male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the 601
father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the
true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or 114
tokoua o'e fa'e is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described
by Gifford(16) and Koch (17) was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata*
must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are com- 601
pletely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's [192]
sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for
a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband
are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's
brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A
woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford
under the name of *mo'a*,(18) a term which I could not elicit. Gifford 601
thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher 554
rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used
reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.(19) But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own 601
small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is 602
precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network 554
of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is
variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children

593
Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch 784
the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he 602
does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house [264]
where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the [764]
same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father [601]
who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When [592]
sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and [584]
if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

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16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929 :29.
19. Gifford 28.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

602 *Grandparents and Grandchildren*

603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may tóuch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[589] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (*mehikitanga*) *and nephew and niece* (*fakafotu*)

602
604 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (*fa'e tangata*) *and nephew and niece* (*ilamutu*)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e* 604
tangata's possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had 602
taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his 422
fa'e tangata have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar [601]
things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several
ilamutu of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while
he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what
they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata's* wife, from
whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she
is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own
property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga's* children, 605
too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga.* 602
According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play 784
together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's
children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand,
sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children
and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* 593
each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may 607
stay in one room together, talking about anything. 602
784

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, 607
combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in 602
company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there 784
were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend [853]
her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can
not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should 602/183
observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter.
People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his
sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect,
there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual
behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in 593
Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm 602
has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring 183
his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

12

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

578 While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man
605 and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for
602 their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the
601 same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her
brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute between them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of
[683] two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B,
and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next
door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

601
602 There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a
605 real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the
593 brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classi-
[789] ficatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins
joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real
604 sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege
602 towards the classificatory *fa'e tangata* so freely as towards his real
601 mother's brother.

128 Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

593 It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the
592 same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only
[342] two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are
the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age
513 of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep.
592 Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten
593 years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the place where the boys sleep.

(a)	in the main *fale mohe* with sisters	3 households
(b)	in another *fale mohe*	5 households
(c)	in *fale kai*	1 household
(d)	some brothers in another *fale mohe* but others with sisters	1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years of age in his fatherm's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

14

may be as old as thirteen but no girl over thirteen years of age lives with 592
either an older or younger brother. It is probable that boys are told to 593
sleep in a separate place when the sisters reach the age of puberty. [513]

The commonest way to separate boys from girls is to build another hut [342]
for the boys in the same *api kolo,* or to make the *fale kai* (dining hut) [343]
available to the boys. Occasionally the father moves and accompanies the sons (two cases) or the daughters (one case). The case of a complete separation is given by 9 who has accompanied four sons to eldest and married son's household in order to part them from their younger sister. These boys also take a meal and work with the brother's family. They seem to be allowed to live with their brother's wife in one room because she is not their sister-in-law but their *mali.*

The Name Giver[20]

The following table shows the name givers for 96 persons of 17 house- 553
holds in the village. 602

Name giver	First child	Second	Third and subsequent	Total
fa.	3	1	15	19
fa's fa.	1			1
fa's mo.	2		2	4
fa's bro.	1	1	5	7
fa's sis.	4	6	11	21
fa's fa's mo.	1	1	1	3
fa's mo's mo.			1	1
fa's fa's bro's gr. child			1	1
fa's fa's sis.	1			1
fa's fa's sis's da.	1			1
fa's mo's bro's da.	1			1
fa's mo's sis.			1	1
fa's mo's sis's so.		1	1	2
fa's sis's child			1	1
fa's sis's son's wife			1	1
fa's bro's wife			1	1
fa's relative		1	3	4
mo.		1	5	6
mo's mo.			3	3
mo's bro.			2	2
mo's bro's wife			1	1
mo's sis.			2	2
mo's mo's sis.			1	1
mo's mo's mo's bro.			1	1
mo's relative		1		1
not related	2		2	4
unknown			5	5
Total	17	13	66	96

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[20] A person's name may change sometimes two or three times in his life. But the name given on his birth is only one for each person.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

553 602 [123] As indicated clearly in the table, most children are named by the father or by one of his relations; that is 15 out of 17 first born children, 11 out of 13 second born children and 44 out of 66 third born children or the subsequent ones. It is especially noted that the first born children were named by the paternal relations except for two who were named by the Mormon priest and by me. The maternal relations do not play a part in name giving until the third child is born. Among these 17 households, five couples are in uxorilocal and two couples in neolocal residence. As regards these seven nuclear families, two first born children were named by the father, one by the girl who is the father's mother's brother's daughter in Nukuleka, three by one of the paternal relations in another village and one by me. Although all five couples in uxorilocal residence live side by side or very near to the wife's family with whom they are in close contact in their daily life, the kinsmen of the father in another village named the baby. If they are too far away, say in Ha'apai or Vava'u, to be asked, the father himself may name the child, or sometimes an unrelated person, such as myself, may be asked.

553 604 602 It is common that the father gives the name to the third and subsequent children. Yet five of them were named by those to whom the children were not clearly related. 21 children, the largest number in the total, were given the name by the father's sister. Her role is quite eminent in the case of first and second children. Including the father's father's sister and the father's sister's sons and daughters who may be identified with the father's sister because they, as well as the *mehikitanga,* are of higher rank than the baby, they name one third of the first born and a half of the second born children. This evidenced the villager's statement that the father's sister in general gives the name to the baby.

553 602 [604] On the other hand, the maternal relations, particularly the mother's brother, have only a small role in name giving. But in uxorilocal residence, they often play a considerable part for second and subsequent babies. The following are two examples, of 3 with seven children, and of 18 with nine children.

553 602 604

Household No.	Order of birth	Sex	Name Giver
3	1	f.	fa's mo.
	2	m.	fa's bro.
	3	f.	mo's mo's sis.
	4	f.	fa's friend
	5	m.	fa.
	6	f.	mo's mo's mo's fa.
	7	f.	mo's bro.
18	1	f.	fa's sis.
	2	f.	mo.
	3	f.	mo.
	4	f.	mo's sis.
	5	m.	mo's bro's wife
	6	m.	fa's bro.
	7	f.	mo's sis.
	8	m.	mo.
	9	m.	mo.

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal
relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these cere- 554
monial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585 764

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 128
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* 276
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy 574
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept
their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon
as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili*
will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is 276
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink.
The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the 574
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later
after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, 252
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) 292
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths 352
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom 292
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, 585
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 276
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. 574
If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, 262
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully
chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom
and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her
family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even
their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes
to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride
and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

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[21] Collocott 1923: 221-5., Beaglehole 1941: 91-98., Koch 1955: 75-81.

[22] Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.(24) For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant. [276] [574] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua* is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

765 Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.(25) The family [302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten [784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted, [593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers [602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but [292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

121 In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information. 114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to 114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to 565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.

25. Koch 1955: 86.

554 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village.
621 But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between
two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of
hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is
621 not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a
586 woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual
587 may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at
593 the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate
all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the
highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another in-
621 dividual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of
602 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's
sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave
towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But
what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they
may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his
621 children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises auto-
593 matically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other
607 hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's
sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the
highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the
elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons
it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single
ramified system.

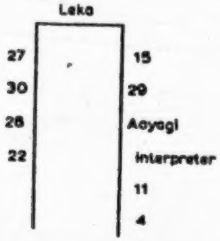
554 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder
593 brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the
brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles
may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank;
this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if
a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor,
his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from
622 a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact,
621 the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is
554 *ciki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the
428 senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka,
848 whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's
sons are 16 and 24.

554 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of
593 individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin
602 are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions.
585 In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by
276 particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.
574

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602 276
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574 576
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 574
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of 576 [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 561 [796]
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]

31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the pola in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.

32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

182 cultural principles that shape people's lives.

621 [121] There are three aspects to the variability of elements of local organization in Tonga:

a. There is considerable diversity within each of the different kinds of social grouping found at the local level. [592] For example, among the 145 households in the village of Motulahi in 1970 there were one-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households; households with from one to seven family groups; and households with family groups linked by the tie between parents and daughter, others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister [602] and sister, and so on. Not only is there this diversity [575] of household types, but there are also seemingly different [794] forms of kin-groups and voluntary associations and a number of different religious denominations, all in the same village.

b. The statistical distributions of these variations is 182 621 794 not uniform from one village to the next. For example, each of the three Methodist denominations in Tonga has a church in Motulahi, while the village adjoining Motulahi has only one Methodist church. But whereas the adjoining village has a large Roman Catholic population and has a Roman Catholic church, there is no Roman Catholic church in Motulahi; instead, the few Roman Catholics in Motulahi

592 621 did emerge from examination of the material relating to attached individuals was that it was the larger households that tended to have the added membership of attached [171] individuals. However, even this point seemed at variance with what might have been expected on the basis of comparative data from other societies, which show households lacking in members compensating by the addition of attached individuals (Goody 1972: 17-18).

592 128 596 In attempting to account for the extent of diversity revealed by enumeration of Motulahi households according to the culturally significant notion of family groups, I tried to analyze the data in terms of other variables. One basis for analysis was suggested by the stated norms of intra-family behavior and other patterns of respect in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance, the authority of the senior male vis-a-vis junior males, and the reverence due the father's sister. However, the observed composition of multiple-family-group households did not accord with the pattern one might expect on the basis of these norms (see Table 13).[4] While the plurality of households with family groups related through the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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[602] [593] [4] A listing of the stated norms of intra-family behavior is given in most pieces of writing on kinship in Tonga. However, as Morton shows in his dissertation (1972), there is little or no correlation between these norms and actual patterns of relationships among Tongan villagers.

592 Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of
484 household membership. Instead, they recognize different
574 kinds of what we would call "temporary residence". They
[602] may speak of people as being not merely visiting--they
would say this of a young relative from another island
who has come to live in the household for a few years
so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they
may say that a particular person or family group is
visiting for only a short time. Some people, and parti-
cularly young adults, come visiting *'eva pē* ('just going
about'--a term also applied to taking a short stroll with
[584] no overt destination). It is in the course of *'eva pē*
[626] visiting that many Tongans meet the person they marry,
for outside the home village a young woman has more free-
dom and a young man more license to pursue a courtship.
In other cases, people may come visiting because they
have some matter to attend to in Motulahi or elsewhere
on Tongatapu. They might have come to be in attendance
at a birth, for example, or to attend a funeral, or to
accompany children to Tongatapu at the start of the school
year, or to bring items for sale.

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holds in cases where more than one household occupies the same town allotment, or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one allotment. Even so, there are occasional cases where household membership is not clear. (See the case of Matiu, described later in the chapter.)

CHAPTER V

LOCAL GROUPS IN OPERATION

128 The flexibility of stratagems and emphasis on individual decision-making that is characteristic of Tongan social organization has been indicated at various points in previous chapters and is especially evident in the materials that are presented in this chapter. The chapter deals with elements of optation in the organization of the three major kinds of local groups besides the household: localized kin groups, church congregations, and voluntary associations. It is particularly with regard to membership and participation in these groups that we see the principle of fa'iteliha put into operation, as people arrange and re-arrange their various affiliations.

Kin Ties at the Local Level

602 The tracing of kin ties is relevant to two different
[554] fields of action in contemporary Tongan society. One of
[128] these, where the tracing of kin ties establishes and
validates claims to high rank beyond the local level, is
me'a fakahou'eiki (pertaining to the chiefs) and beyond
[621] the scope of this dissertation. The other field of action

602 621 in tracing kin ties is concerned with establishing the range of people with whom an individual is involved in co-operating and participating in local-level activities.[1] These are the kin ties that are manifested in resource groups in the domestic sphere and at the local level--ties to 'api (household), kainga (kindred), and fāmili (local descent group).

592 The household group or 'api, a unit of common residence and consumption in which members are usually (although not necessarily) close kin to one another, has 612 been considered in the preceeding chapter. A second kind of kin grouping is the kainga, an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. One speaks of affinally-related kin as "my spouse's kainga" or "my brother's wife's kainga", or whatever, but not as being one's own kainga. This distinction is apparent in the following case, involving the people whose relationships 612 835 are depicted in Figure 3. An incestuous affair between A and B was discovered. It was considered to bring shame on C but not to reflect on D in any way. The logic underlying this is that a person is considered to be married only to his/her spouse, not to the spouse's kin as well.

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[1] See Decktor Korn (1974, 1976), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976) for accounts that focus on various aspects of the differential significance of kinship at the national level and the local level.

612 764 were kainga of C, and C in turn was kainga to D. Similarly, at a funeral held on the island of 'Eua in March 1970, two women (both from Motulahi) made a joint presentation of goods. The basis for their having made a joint funeral contribution can be explained by reference to Figure 5. They themselves (M and N) were not kainga of the deceased (P), nor were they kainga to one another, but each was kainga to her grandchildren (Q1 and Q2 respectively), and the grandchildren were kainga to one another and also [602] closely related to the deceased. In short, it is not affinal ties that link people in kainga-based relationships, but ties that are reckoned to be traced through consanguineal connections.

612 621 Finally, there is the fāmili, a kin-based group that cuts across kainga connections. Membership in the kainga --if it may be called 'membership'--is simply a matter of genealogical relationships; membership in the fāmili, although founded on kin ties, is defined by participation in the activities of the fāmili. While kainga is mainly a relationship category, fāmili is an action group which supplies members' households with goods, labor, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. Thus, while kainga ties transcend local boundaries (for a person's kin may be anywhere in Tonga, or elsewhere for that matter), the fāmili is essen-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

612 tially a localized group, most of whose members live in the 621 same village. Like the household unit, the *fāmili* is a [602] group that includes affines. And finally, in contrast to the ascriptive nature of the *kainga* relationship, *fāmili* membership is one of the most important areas of optation in Tongan society.

Fāmili Membership

The *fāmili* has some structural features that make it look like a non-unilinear descent group and others that make it look like what Davenport (1959) calls a 'stem kindred'. However, the *fāmili* could also be described simply as a loose association of households linked by [593] consanguineal ties among some of its members. The core [605] or 'stem' of the membership of any one *fāmili* consists of a number of adult individuals in the village, both male and female, who are related to one another as siblings or as the descendents of siblings. The total membership of a *fāmili* includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than just transient members of their households. But it must be understood that the criteria of membership in the *fāmili* are not at all rigid. A person could be affiliated with any *fāmili* to which he or she is able to claim a kin tie, even if the genealogical connection

612
602 From these materials it is clear that an individual has considerable flexibility, not simply in the choice of *fāmili* affiliation, but in how he aligns himself with other people as well. These alignments bring social and economic benefits that are sustained by reciprocity of obligations. Since an individual's needs and his uses for people change through time, however, he shifts his alignments to accord with his changed circumstances. These adaptations are facilitated by the optative nature of Tongan kin ties and the informal and non-prescriptive quality of the mechanisms of co-operation and assistance at the local level. As we shall see, similar mechanisms are at work with regard to denominational affiliation.

612
114 Before proceeding, something should be said at this point about how other anthropologists have viewed the Tongan *fāmili*. It was first described by Aoyagi in 1966, and since then by me (in a paper presented in 1972, published 1974), by Morton, and by Marcus. Aoyagi (1966, 150-160) uses the terms '*famili*' and '*famili* organization' to refer to what I have identified as the *kainga* and *fāmili*, respectively, but her delineation of the nature of these groupings does not differ significantly from that given above. The emphasis in her account of '*famili* organization' is on the occasions when the *famili* organization functions as a group. Aoyagi describes the looseness and variability

612 wealth and status, while I am interested in ordinary
114 Tongans and in social organization at the local level. The elites are more likely to be involved in kin groups with a corporate character, and ties between them and with their less successful kinsmen are likely to be supra-local and not dependent on the quotidian interaction that is the sine qua non of the localized _fāmili_. The fact that Marcus's account of 'the _famili_' is different from mine reflects the difference in our spheres of investigation, since--as we have seen in relation to the household group--Tongans use the word '_fāmili_' to refer to different kinds of groups in different contexts.

Denominational Diversity

602 Relationships of kinship are the primary source of
559 economic benefits and material assistance. For prestige
[621] in the community, however, one must look beyond kinship.
[602] At the national level, status is a function of rank by birth, wealth, occupation and education. These criteria are also significant in the village, but it is the rare villager who derives especially high status from one of
[794] these sources.[3] For most adults in the village, and

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[3] There is no satisfactory account as yet of the system of status at the national level of contemporary Tongan society. Partial analyses are provided by Bott (1972), Kaeppler (1971), Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976), and Spillius (1959b), but it remains to be explained how the different elements make up the total system.

621 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the
794 success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents.
798 Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the
Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation
of particular individuals merely because they belong to the
Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who
show little involvement at all in the activities of any
congregation than they are of any persons for being
adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving Activities

794 It is a religious duty to participate in congregational
[775] and denominational activities, with damnation in
[624] the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions
[591] for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational
activities are important social events, providing an arena
within which individuals engage in status-striving
activities.

● 602 The majority of village women, of all denominations,
562 spend most of their free time among kin, either at their
[512] own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen.
[461] When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women
of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will
562 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men
517
883

794 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men
562 became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and
476 in four cases they were members of the same congregation.
[464] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic
congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the
village, generally employs only members of his own
[602] congregation when he requires assistance. If these
[554] associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he
is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his
kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not
794 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse
562 order of priorities in choosing associates. For example,
602
461 if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her
fāmili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented
in some instances by non-kinswomen who are linked to her
as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own
562 congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation
554 is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man
who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot
hope to do so without the participation and support of his
[574] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be
associated with respectable people who he can invite to his
feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be
[574] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are
trained in a wide range of academic and technical
subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church,
both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have
done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In
summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up
prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain
patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example,
do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the
Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the
material burdens and social obligations of congregational
feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
● [602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed,
it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are
more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

794 of other denominations. It seems significant in this
795 regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices
183 602 place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary
594 family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-
592 family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see
596 Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of
554 household do not have the means of supporting more than
their own families, or else that having many dependents is
not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them
794 that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be
795 more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional
183 554 elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In
place of the traditional criteria of status and customary
forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and
individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership
in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an
individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am
not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon
religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My
argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching
affiliation from one denomination to another is an indication of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different
village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a
decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

575 account in the savings bank in Nuku'alofa. The group met
454 for a social evening once a month. On these occasions,
each couple brought the amount of money that had been
agreed upon at the preceding meeting, and then the total
was deposited. The purpose of the kautaha was to ensure
regular savings and to keep the money that was saved intact
by having it deposited in a common account.[13]

575 2. The members of a kautaha are almost always residents
621 of the same village, and are usually further linked by ties
602 of kinship and/or membership in the same congregation.
794
[593] Thus, five of the six couples in the kautaha lī pa'anga
described above were related to one another as siblings;
all were adherents of the same denomination (although not
of the same congregation, as two of the member-couples
[437] were not resident in Motulahi). All the members of the
[476] Kautaha Fisi were residents of Motulahi, as were all the
members of the kau ngāue, and all but one of the men in
the kau ngāue were members of the Free Wesleyan congrega-
[437] tion. The denominational affiliations and kinship
connections among the women in the Kautaha Fisi are
depicted in Figure 10.

575 3. Every member of a kautaha usually has a direct
personal interest in pursuing the goals or purposes of the

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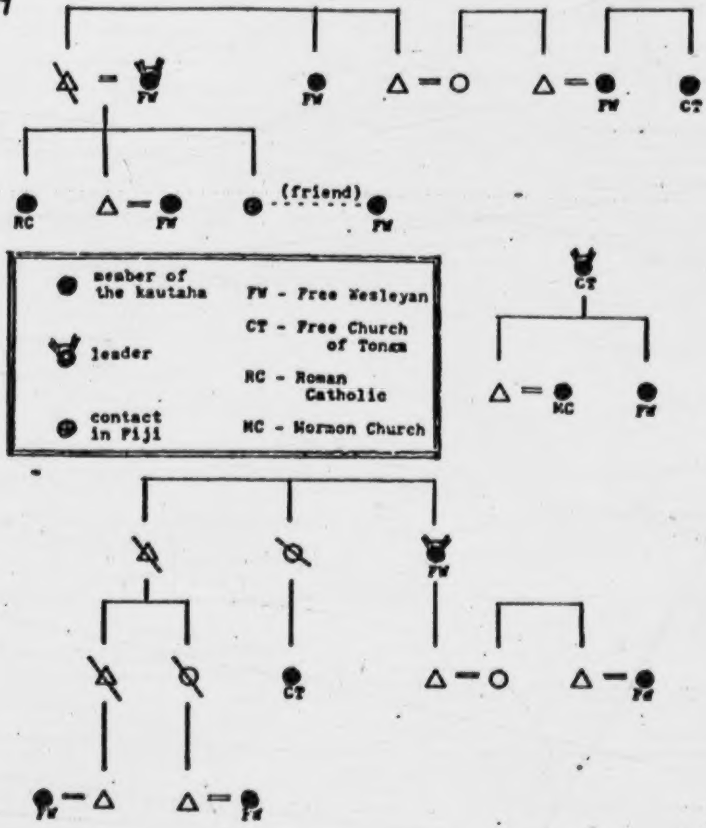
[13] Morton describes the various forms that a kautaha lī pa'anga can take (1972: 83-85).

FIGURE 10

575
602
437
794

Denominational Affiliations and Kinship Connections

Among Members of the Kautaha Fisi


FW
FW
FW
CT
RC
FW
(friend)
FW
member of the kautaha
leader
contact in Fiji
FW - Free Wesleyan
CT - Free Church of Tonga
RC - Roman Catholic
MC - Mormon Church
CT
MC
FW
FW
CT
FW
FW
FW

571 [794] [795] ministers and stewards of the congregations. All these, however, are one-way channels of communication from the top down, while the ordinary villager has few means of communicating upwards. Ordinary men and women serve as representatives of their congregations at annual meetings [646] of their church. They also participate in electing the People's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly. [642] Besides these measures, there are no formal means of representation for the vast majority of Tongans.

Processes of National Integration

The description thus far suggests that in Tonga there is only a very steep hierarchy, with little to bridge the gap between ordinary villagers and the central authorities. 602 571 This is not really the case, however, owing primarily to the nature of the Tongan kinship system. Anthropologists have repeatedly noted that people of the highest rank in Tonga are related through ties of kinship with people of all ranks throughout the country, creating a vast communications network through kin ties that reach every village and every household in the country. As Spillius puts it:

> The web of kinship here is such that every well-informed person, every member of Government, every aristocrat, every well-educated commoner or church minister, has hundreds of relatives, all of whom can and do consult him. . . . Even with the presence of all the formal types of communication by Government, by far the greatest volume of communication takes place through the channels of kinship (1960: 18-19).

602 Similarly, Marcus--in his discussion of kin ties among the
571 Tongan elites (1974, 1975a, 1975b)--treats 'the _famili_' as a
612 dispersed kin set, transcending local boundaries. And even
if kin are not of the same _fāmili_, as _kainga_ they see one
another on ceremonial occasions such as feasts and funerals,
and a junior relative will readily call on a senior person
when the latter should happen to be in the neighborhood.
602 Furthermore, it is not unusual for senior people in govern-
571 ment to have their home in a village on Tongatapu and
commute to work in Nuku'alofa, or--if they are from one of
the other islands--to maintain close ties with their "home"
[565] village despite residence away from that village. Similarly, the nobles not only have local deputies but also maintain residences of their own on their estates throughout the islands and visit there from time to time.[9] All these key individuals are associated with different sets of people in their domestic and local activities from those with whom they are associated at the national level, and they act as 'brokers' of communication between the local level and the national level. Their role as brokers was touched on earlier in this chapter in connection with the system of personal representations and private petitioning by villagers in their dealings with the central authorities.

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[9] See Marcus (1976) for a description of how different nobles arrange this.

571 The organization of communication in Tonga can be understood in the following way: viewed from the top, communication is usually formal, systemic, and impersonal; viewed from the bottom, it is informal, reticulated, and personal. Formal communications are vertical, except at the very top, while informal channels of communication are both horizontal and vertical (see Figure 12).

571 182 Consideration of the system of informal communication leads to the conclusion that it is an important means of national integration. Not only does it facilitate two-way communication and consultation between the national level and the local level, but it also provides the means of linking local units with one another. Villages and islands --considered as units in themselves--are not connected with one another except through their connection with the central authorities, but--as we have noted earlier in this chapter --the various local units (households, congregations, _fāmili_, and _kautaha_) are locally integrated through over- 571 182 612 lapping and cross-cutting memberships. These local groups, in turn, are connected by a finely-knit web of communication through _kainga_ relationships, and these relationships transcend village and island boundaries. Thus, in this limited sense, the nation is the kinship system writ large.[10]

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602 [10] Note that it is only with regard to this limited aspect of the system of communication that it can be said

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FIGURE 12

The Structure of Communication among Institutional Units in Tongan Society

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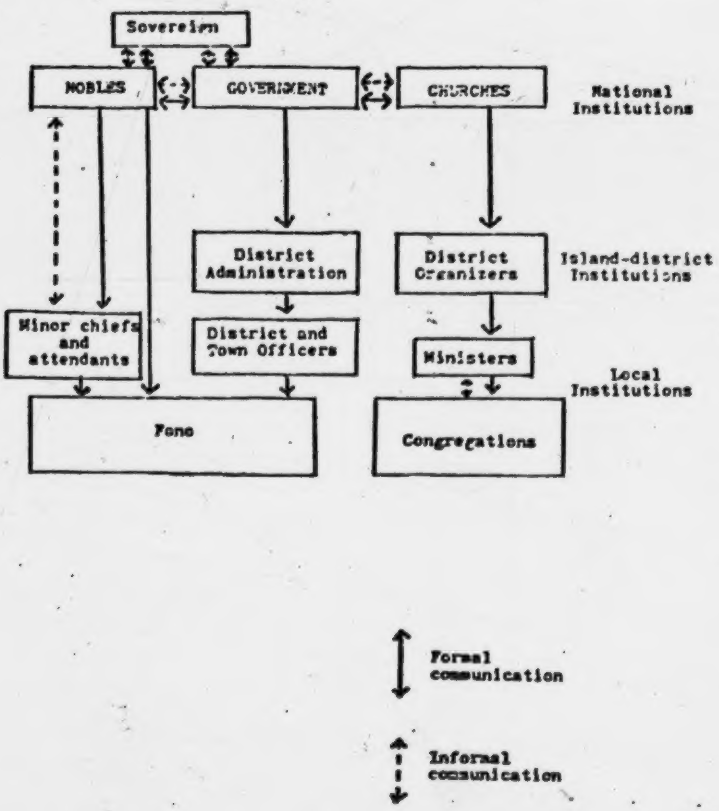
602


Sovereign
NOBLES
GOVERNMENT
CHURCHES
National Institutions
District Administration
District Organizers
Island-district Institutions
Minor chiefs and attendants
District and Town Officers
Ministers
Local Institutions
Fono
Congregations
Formal communication
Informal communication

527 While ordinary Tongans are regularly involved on an individual and small-group basis with people from beyond their own village, there are few situations in which they have the opportunity to express their identity as Tongans in common with thousands of other Tongans. From time to time, however, the nation is activated by events known as kātoanga ('public celebration or festivity'). Thousands of people are involved in these events, both in preparations and in direct participation in gigantic feasts, traditional dancing and other public entertainments, and ceremonial and spectacular activities of other kinds.

527
648 One kātoanga took place during the period of my fieldwork, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England in March 1970. Although the Royal Visit lasted for only one day, in Motulahi it was preceded by about seven weeks of preparation and upheaval, and similar activities went on throughout Tongatapu. Furthermore, while the kātoanga took place only on Tongatapu, not only [484] the people of that island were involved. Contributions were levied in all parts of Tonga, in the same way that the villagers of Motulahi had been informed what their contributions were to be, and thousands of people made the trip

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[591] that the nation is the kinship system writ large. I would
[182] certainly not equate the political system of Tonga with the
[612] kinship system.
[602]

121 urban data (Mitchell 1969, Whitten and Wolfe 1973).
However, a network approach is narrowly structural in its
focus on individuals and on the patterning of linkages
formed by their associations as they engage in various
activities. Within that frame of analysis, the organiza-
of the activities themselves is peripheral, leaving
systemic aspects of these activities unexamined. Rather
than use a network approach, in organizing the data from
Motulahi I have tried to show how a person's behavior
within one sphere of activity shapes and is shaped by the
[592] alternatives available in other spheres. Thus we see that
[612] the kind of domestic group that a Tongan villager sets up
[602] or joins is partially a function of his kin-group affilia-
tions, and that this in turn affects the range of alterna-
[621] tives available to him in other activities. It is through
[575] the relation of these activity systems that the various
[794] groups found at the local level are articulated with one
[182] another and with other groupings in Tongan society.

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

In examining the diversity of social groupings in Tongan society, I have focused on the diversity of options that people have in choosing memberships and affiliations. These data exemplify the variability of Tongan society at the local level. In considering them, we can distinguish

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 5

Nature of Linkage Between Family Groups in Households of Two- and Three-Family Units* 592
596

Number of Family Units in the Household	Family Groups Related Through	Number of Households
Two-family-unit households (32 households)		
	Parent(s)-daughter tie	14
	Parent(s)-son tie	5
	Sister-sister tie	5
	Brother-brother tie	2
	Brother-sister tie	2
	Other kin tie	3
	Nonkin ties	1
Three-family-unit household (15 households)		
	Ties between family groups of brother-sister-parent(s)	6
	Ties between family groups of sisters and their parent(s)	3
	Ties between other combinations of kin	6

*The two households of more than three family units are not tabulated because of the complexity of the ties among the constituent family groups.

position that the study of social organization focuses on "that contin- 592
uous set of operations in a field of social action which conduces to the control and combination of elements of action into a system by choice and limitation of their relations to any given ends" (1964:60). Membership in the household group in Tonga allows the individual or family group to have access to resources that provide for essential needs. As the means for satisfying these needs or the needs themselves change, there are shifts in household membership. This is the process that accounts for fluctuations in household composition.

Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of household membership. Instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would
call "temporary residence." They may speak of people as being not 592
merely visiting—for example, a young relative from another island who 574
has come to live in the household for a few years so that he can attend [602]
school on the main island. Or they may say that a particular person or

Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been 592
flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on 596
another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their 2-year-old 591
daughter. Matiu remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring household of Tomasi, his oldest brother. After he was flooded out in the rainstorm, he came to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved in to a newly built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events within the next few years: the unmarried children when they marry, and 'Aisea and his family if he has the means to set up his own household and chooses to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group is only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children did not move away to establish their own households—in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household can be seen as part of a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Matiu and of Mele and Solo and their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite its irregularity from their own point of view.[8]

CRITERIA OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY

One of the most important considerations in determining whether a 592
man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a
household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a
household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It
could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would
have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local
goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly [591]
married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is
that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to
take up residence in a parental household, but economic expediency. So 602
far as household organization is concerned, what Leach has written 592
about the Sinhalese could equally apply to Tonga: 171

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[8] In footnote 3, it was suggested that some of the people participating in the census of 1966 might have represented their family groups as comprising independent single-family-unit households, when in fact they were not, because they regarded their not being independent households as a temporary situation. Viliami's household offers instances of this situation.

> 602 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the
> 592 expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the
> 171 prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

592 The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of
511 foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
[651] members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every
[714] male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses
[871] for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing
592 and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases
511 and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which
434 are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[462] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare
[433] handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making
[438] activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make
434 adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of
431 ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the
285 year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods
287 called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds
[554] (*kie, fihu,* and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa,* which is
[571] amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

mination. One alternative structural domain in which much social 121
activity occurs is the Tongan village community. The other is the
dispersed bilateral kin set.

Every Tongan adult has both a *fonua,* or island/village identity, and 571
a *famili/kāinga,* or kin set identity. Because of the high geographical
mobility of individuals in modern Tonga, one's village and kin set 571
identifications may overlap, but are rarely co-terminal. Particularly in 166
Ha'apai where land shortage and population pressure result in a great
deal of movement, it is uncommon to find in any village community
complete sibling groups related through two generations in residence.

The dispersion of kinsmen outside the boundaries of village com- 602
munities defines for every adult individual a kin set[4] among which 612
interactions are predominantly in terms of economic exchanges and support, but are also structured through traditional principles of rank in the *kāinga* (the total category of one's recognized kinsmen). Modifying Gray and Gulliver, I call this dispersed set of kinsmen a family estate which is a "complex of processes, involving on the one hand natural resources and products derived from them and on the other hand the family groups which exploit them . . ." (Gray and Gulliver, 1964, p. 5). The Tongan kin set as family estate is composed of kinsmen who actively maintain economic transactions and who mutually have an interest in and are responsible for each other's economic position. The fact of dispersion and diverse economic activity makes contacts between members of a family estate periodic and by the medium of mail and messages rather than face-to-face.

Mitchell has made the important point that any model of kindreds or kin networks must take into account a temporal variable relating to the stage of the individual's life cycle (Mitchell, 1963, pp. 350-351). For Tonga, the temporal variable relating to the appearance of family estates is the stages of fission and replacement in Fortes' scheme for the developmental cycle of domestic groups (Fortes, 1958, p. 5). That is, the analytical temporal focus of the family estate is the period of dispersion of siblings from a single domestic group and the setting up

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[4] I avoid the use of the term kin group or kin network, and instead use the term kin set which indicates that inclusion of individuals in a family estate from the total category of one's recognized kinsmen or *kāinga* involves principles of selection determined by a combination of an individual's economic activity and kinship position. My use of kin set is approximately the same as Gulliver's: he uses the term to denote a category that "comprises those people against whom ego can and does exercise claims, with whom he co-operates, and to whom he acknowledges obligations" (Gulliver, 1971, p. 18).

602 of independent households. The analytical structural focus of the family
612 estate then is minimally a set of true (as opposed to classificatory) adult
siblings. Also, aside from a minimal set of siblings, discrete family
estates are also composed of kinsmen in other categories of relationship.
Besides kin linkage, the other necessary criterion for inclusion in a
family estate is the nature of one's economic activity. Thus, the family
estate as used here is defined by a set of economic processes (flows of
goods and services) among a set of kinsmen, the focal composition
of which is a group of true siblings. A detailed analysis of the
characteristics of the family estate, particularly with regard to status
determination among component members, will define one major
domain of modern Tongan social structure.

621 A detailed analysis of the characteristics of the village community
will define an alternative structural domain in which concern with
status determination differs from that in the operation of family estates.
Every Tongan individual has a village or community identification
through which he interacts with neighboring commoners, some recognized
621 as kinsmen, some not. Also it is on the village level that an
565 individual is integrated into the societal class structure by his relationship
with the noble on whose land he lives. Commoners in Tongan
554 villages do not appear to manipulate genealogies to place themselves
closer to the noble's immediate kin set. At the village level, one's status
in the societal class structure is remarkably fixed.

565 It will be shown that concern with determination of rank in interpersonal
relations is important within family estates and between nobles
554 and commoners at the village level, but not in everyday interactions
128 among commoners in the village. After a discussion of the major
structural transformations that have occurred in Tongan society, the
structure of the family estate and of the village will be described in
some detail. Finally, the integration of these alternative social structures
is discussed in terms of an individual's strategies for managing his
varying social statuses in the alternative structural arrangements in
which he is involved.

II. HISTORIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN TONGAN SOCIETY

554 Concern with determination of rank occurs within three analytical
dimensions of Polynesian social structure: the kinship system, the status
612 or class system, and the descent group system (Goldman, 1970). In
former times, the population of Tonga was distributed over the three

holder (Maude, 1965, p. 29). Today, with the dissolution of the lineage 613
and the descent principle among commoners, the term *kāinga* is applied
to one's bilateral kindred or field of individuals that one recognizes as 612
kinsmen. In former times, the commoner *'ulu mōtu'a* was linked to the 178
class system by being considered the *foha* (son) or *tehina* (younger 565
brother) of the chief to whose lineage his people were collaterally related
and subordinated. 613

The internally ranked *kāinga* is conceptually related to rank in the 602
class system in the following ways: (1) Relations between *Tu'i* and *'eiki,* 565
and between *'eiki* and *tu'a* are marked by rigid deference behavior ex-
pressed in *tapus*. Within the *kāinga,* the important reciprocal ranked 612
relationships between father-children, brother-sister, and father's sister- 554
brother's children are expressed in similar *tapus*. (2) In talking about [784]
rank in the *kāinga,* Tongans discriminate status by saying that A is either
'eiki or *tu'a* to B, i.e., class concepts are used to designate relative rank in
the *kāinga.* Alternatively, the term *fahu,* 'above the law', is used in des-
cribing rank designation both within the *kāinga* and between classes. (3)
Formerly, a kinship idiom was used to characterize relationships between
individuals of different classes: *'ulu mōtu'a* were termed the *foha* or
tehina of *'eiki.* Of course the *'ulu mōtu'a* were in fact usually related to
their *'eiki* but the kinship terms used to characterize their relationship
were idiomatic and metaphoric, rather than descriptive of actual ties.
Finally, (4) Tongan kin terms have the character of titles, similar to [601]
titles of nobility defining the societal class hierarchy, which allocate par-
ticular statuses of honor to an individual and define for him standards of
behavior concerning demeanor and deference in relation to all other
individuals in his *kāinga.* These shared concepts of rank survive to the
present in both the Tongan class system and the *kāinga* despite important
structural changes that have occurred in Tongan society.

Conditions in contemporary Tonga may be seen against the backdrop 178
of changes that occurred during the period of civil wars in the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries and the rise to power in the mid-nineteenth
century of George Tupou I, the founder of the present royal dynasty.
Tonga was ruled by a line of Tu'i Tonga, putatively descended from the 643
union of a god and a woman of an earlier Tongan population. After a 175
history of assassinations of Tu'i Tonga, in the fifteenth century, the
twenty-fourth incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power
on his younger brother, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while retaining for
himself the highest sacred status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repea-
ting the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one

612 as fishing or storekeeping, they must migrate, either alone or with
166 their families.

Reasons for leaving one's native village are varied: Females leave
621 when they marry out, enter some form of higher education such as
teacher's training, or look after children who are in school either in
166 Nuku'alofa or in one of the two other major towns of Tonga, Pangai
in Ha'apai and Neiafu in Vava'u. Males leave to look for vacant or
undistributed land in some other part of Tonga; to look for potential
spouses; for education; for employment outside agriculture as government clerks, police, teachers, and *faifekaus* ('ministers'), or in fishing
and shipping; to work abroad as laborers (there is a large Tongan
community in New Zealand); or just for *'eva pē*, i.e., living among
kinsmen away from home without any specific reason. Every one of
the above reasons for leaving often involves several years, if not permanent,
[434] periods of absence from native villages. The increased need
for cash, the selling of copra being the only way of acquiring money
[612] locally, and the desire for the conveniences of modern goods and
services are the 'pulls' that complement the 'push' of land pressure
which together serve as the stimuli resulting in dispersed family estates,
both within Tonga and abroad, as a major feature of modern Tongan
social structure.

The kin determinants of the composition of family estates derive from
602 the channels of ranked status positions in the kinship system, defined
554 briefly in the previous section. Anthropologists have been accustomed
to specify *mutual* rights and obligations for reciprocal role relationships
in kinship systems. However, in the case of Tongan kinship, elaborately
defined rankings of reciprocal roles necessitate the lopsided or asymmetrical
analysis of relationships in which either rights or obligations
[593] are emphasized, but not both. Within the sibling group, older brothers
have primarily rights over younger brothers, and sisters have primarily
[604] rights over brothers. For extra-familial kin, a set of siblings has rights
over mother's kinsmen(especially the mother's brothers and their
children) and obligations to father's kinsmen (especially the father's
sisters and their children).

In ranked kinship relations, one party has rights and the other has
[565] obligations which are culturally specified. The situation in the class
system is parallel: nobles have rights vis-a-vis commoners, who in turn
have obligations vis-a-vis nobles. This is not to say that individuals
holding higher rank or status have no obligations to those with lower
571 status. For example, Tongans emphasize the importance of *'ofa*, 'love'
577

or 'kindness', as an essential motivation in all interactions. To describe 571
someone as *ta'e 'ofa* ('without love') is to criticize his conduct severely. 577
Thus, individuals in higher status positions whether in the class or
kinship systems are obligated to act with *'ofa* toward individuals in 571
lower status positions. However, this sort of generalized obligation permeating 554
all relationships is distinct from the more specific definition of
ranked relationships in terms of who has rights and who has obligations.

The channels of economic processes which define the Tongan family 602
estate conform broadly to the following pattern based on the organization
of rank in Tongan kin sets: Goods and services pass from younger 476
brothers to older brothers, from brothers to sisters, whether married 612
or not, from mother's brothers to sister's children, and from brother's
children to father's sisters. Of course, in actual cases there is a great
deal of variation in this pattern. The nature of economic activity and
differing degrees to which individuals conform to traditional kinship
norms (in turn related to the trade-off between personal ambition in
the context of modernity and traditional patterns of rights and obligations
as both burdens and advantages) account for much of the
variation from the above directions of economic flows in family estates.

A question arises as to whether rights or obligations between ranked
status positions in Tongan kinship are associated merely with the
performance of ritual standards of behavior which confer honor or
also with implied patterns of economic transaction and material support.
If the latter is the case, as is argued here for the family estate, then 602
rank among a particular set of kinsmen is a potent factor in the
distributive aspect of economic activities. However, the answer to this 612
question varies with the structural context of the analyst's attention. 554
Certainly within the family estate, composed of dispersed kinsmen who 476
have frequent, but little face-to-face contact and thus few opportunities
to perform ritual behavior, rights and obligations associated with ranked
relationships are manifested chiefly in terms of the form and direction
of economic transactions among them.

On the other hand, within villages, where interactions among kinsmen 621
are daily and face-to-face, rights and obligations associated with ranked 602
relationships are manifested chiefly in terms of the performance of 612
particular standards of deference behavior rather than in terms of
economic transactions. Of course, on the village level, there are important 554
food transactions in consumption among ranked kinsmen, but 476
the organization of economic activities in production and distribution [576]
and for mutual aid and support often does not follow the channels

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

621 of ranked relationships among kinsmen. In the village, economic co-
602 operation is as much a non-kinship as a kinship based matter, and
612 usually, individual families of procreation are self-sufficient in pro-
ductive activities on the land. This contrasts with the importance of
554 traditional patterns of rank in the kin set as a determinant of the form
476 of economic flows in the dispersed family estates.

The nature of economic activities among kinsmen is also an im-
612 portant determinant of the composition of the family estate. A common
602 economic factor in most family estates is the holding of land: one or
423 more *'api tukuhau* will be held *or controlled by males in a particular*
593 sibling group. At least one brother, usually, but not always the eldest,
will remain in residence in the kin set's native village tending the land
593 which he will eventually inherit. Other brothers will disperse and look
for employment. The importance of particular brothers and sisters in
464 the family estate will depend on the type of employment that they find.
554 Particularly important are siblings who have salaried employment either
[602] in Tonga or abroad. Also important are mother's relatives who have
salaried jobs.

602 The following are the kinds of help or support that one might desire
from a kinsman in his family estate: help in finding an undistributed
612 *'api tukuhau*; financial support for educating oneself or one's child; periodic remittances of cash from money-earning to non-money-earning kinsmen; help in migrating within Tonga or emigrating from Tonga; provision of accommodations away from one's home for indefinite periods of time and for whatever reasons; the provision of modern goods in traditional settings where such goods are scarce (an important example is the replacement of houses built with Tongan materials by houses built with European materials, supplied by kinsmen abroad or near the capital); the provision of food to kinsmen involved in non-agricultural activities; taking care of children in the absence of parents; and support, financial or otherwise, in the case of emergencies or special occasions. The mutual fulfillment of the above needs and desires among kinsmen is the nature of the content of the relationships among dispersed kinsmen in a family estate. These activities, which are of considerable importance to the economic and social development of particular individuals in a modernizing context, are channelled in terms of the hierarchically organized kinship system.

602 Varying configurations in the compositions and contents of specific
612 family estates, then, are largely determined by a combination of kinship
554 factors, derived from traditional norms of ranking, and economic factors,

derived from the strategic or non-strategic positions of particular kins-
men. The strategic importance of position is focussed on the distinction 602
between those who can offer cash remittances as opposed to those who 612
can offer remittances in kind, and between those who are situated 554
geographically in or near a modern sector (at home or abroad) and
those situated in a traditional sector (the village or island community).

Now one may claim that what has been called a family estate is
nothing more than one's universe of recognized kinsmen, divided into 612
a number of categories, and from which an individual can flexibly 602
select, initiate, and terminate relationships that provide particular advantages or fulfill needs. Since kin networks are dispersed and interactions are infrequent and rarely face-to-face (in fact only on occasions such as funerals when large numbers of kinsmen gather), it may appear even more obvious that relationships within the *kāinga* are ephemeral. In contrast to this perspective, I suggest that there is a readily observable corporate quality in the relationships among sets of kinsmen which can be isolated analytically as clearly defined family estates from their *kāinga,* i.e., from categories without easily definable boundaries covering large numbers of people who recognize mutual blood relationships.

It is contrary to traditional anthropological thinking to characterize groups as corporate which do not persist from generation to generation and which are not in effect descent groups, but other studies have convincingly demonstrated the corporate nature of nonunilineal, short-lived kin groups (see, for example, Campbell, 1964, on the Sarakatsani). Likewise, the Tongan family estate has corporate features. The 'corporate cement' is the growing sense of responsibility that a set of kinsmen has for each other's material welfare and individual development as they assist one another in dispersing from native households and 'getting started' in life.

Paradoxically, the Tongan corporate family estate arises precisely
because the opportunities for joint participation in a particular activity [166]
(agriculture) are limited, and individuals must disperse to find a variety of forms of employment. Through time (the stages of dispersion and replacement in the developmental cycle), a set of kinsmen, focussing on a group of true siblings, provides each other with mutual aid and support in diverse activities. In time, these processes become stabilized in that transactions among the same cooperating, but dispersed kinsmen continue and reoccur (become 'routinized'). This process is similar to the general scheme elucidated by Boissevain: 'non-groups' develop into 'quasi-groups' which may develop into full-fledged groups (Boissevain,

612 1968, pp. 542-556). The transitions occur between these structural states
602 as interactions among individuals in a network increase and become
norm-governed. This process appears to occur in the formation of
Tongan family estates.

In addition, the transitions from quasi-groups, or clusters in networks,
612 to groups is marked by the development of a covert or informal
602 authority structure among a set of individuals. The informal leaders
554 of a quasi-group or group are brokers and managers of the group's
interactions. Covert authority structures are clearly a part of Tongan
family estates. Usually, a particular kinsman, male or female, will
become a leader or at least the person with the most influence in the
family estate either because of the strength of his particular economic
position or because he is in a position to serve as an intermediary in
facilitating the needs of one kinsman being met by the resources of
another. It is not easy to predict who will be the manager of a family
estate, because it depends on a highly variable combination of kinship
612 and economic factors. One might assume that among brothers, the
602 eldest will be the broker in a family estate, but it is often not the case.
593 I recorded data for one family estate in which the youngest brother
of a sibling set, having a high-paying clerical position abroad, mediated
554 transactions and was constantly being asked for assistance both because
of his position in the organization of rank (his obligations to sisters and
older brothers) and because of his relative economic power.

612 Given the hierarchically ordered channels of economic flow defined
above, the development of routinized interactions among a set of kinsmen
602 and of informal positions of authority justifies the construction of
a model with corporate features which isolates distinct, but ephemeral
units from ego-focussed Tongan *kāinga*. With respect to extra-familial
or extra-sibling group kinsmen, specific individuals in the categories of
mother's brother and mother's brother's children and of father's sister
and father's sister's children will be incorporated in the family estate
through time to the exclusion of other individuals in these categories
as a result of the pattern of actual economic transactions. From the
perspective of the sibling group, brothers and sisters will come to
demand goods and services from particular individuals as mother's
brothers and will recognize *effective* (material as opposed to merely
ritual) obligations toward particular individuals as father's sisters. The
rest of the individuals in any of these categories will form a part of the
general *kāinga* category of a set of siblings, but will be excluded from
the family estate.

in other cases, it does not. Class distinctions and hierarchy are formally 621
marked in Tongan villages in interactions between village residents,
commoner or otherwise, and the actual persons holding noble-titles, 565
whether they are full-time residents of their respective villages or not. 554

Informants in 'Uiha described the remarkable change in behavior that 621
occurred after the eldest son of the previous noble succeeded to the title.
Before assuming the title, the designated heir to the title joined in village 565
activities with commoners such as recreational *fai kava* and work groups
without formal recognition of his potential status. Having assumed the [576]
title, the same individual was, and is now, treated with highly explicit
deference behavior (e.g., bowing when greeting him, using a special [195]
vocabulary still surviving in the Tongan language and used only in
conversing with nobles) by all those who formerly associated with him
in a far more equal and informal manner. In 'Uiha, there appeared to
be no striking, or even, subtle, class distinctions in observed interactions
between commoners and the siblings and *matāpules* of the present title-holder.
On the other hand, the reputation of the present government [554]
District Officer, a 'Uiha commoner with a strong and long-standing
friendship tie with the present title-holder, was greatly enhanced, although
no special deference behavior was displayed toward him.

This process of sudden and formal isolation of an incumbent title-holder, marking the formation of distinctions in the class system, reveals an important dimension of social relations in Tongan villages. The elaborate marking of rank in the class system, viewed from a societal perspective, is contrasted by the prevalence of what Turner would call 'normative communitas' (Turner, 1969, p. 132) or essentially an egalitarian ethic derived from ideas about common kinship and historical origins, shared among people living together in a traditional *fonua*. In some sense, all people living in the same community are equal because they share the same *fonua* identification, regardless of class affiliations. Although *fonua* identification is primarily a territorial concept, it is still conceived by Tongans in terms of a kinship idiom.

Informants in 'Uiha described a general kinship ideology in which all 621
residents of a particular community were considerd one *kāinga*, often 602
expressed as the *kāinga fakafonua* (the 'home kindred' or 'community as
kindred') or as a particular noble's *kāinga* (referring to his 'people' in 829
general, or to the *fonua* from which he originates). The usage of this
idiom is more than metaphorical, since informants explained to me that
if they desired, they could in fact trace their blood or affinal relationship,
no matter how distant, to any other member of the community. Practi- [612]

621 cally, however, this sort of calculation is never done, and individuals do
602 recognize effective limits to their *kāingas*, i.e., those whom they recognize
as occupying particular statuses as opposed to those who are non-kinsmen
829 without specific kin statuses. Now, whereas ego-focussed, recognized
612 *kāingas* are organized in terms of ranked statuses, already described, *kāinga* as a general ideology (what Fortes calls 'kinship amity' transcending the specifically defined norms of any kinship system) marks the unity of a group of people through a well-defined, but generalized consciousness of common descent.[7]

621 The other component of the egalitarian dimension of *fonua* identification is a common sense of historical heritage. For example, in 'Uiha,
829 residents, regardless of class distinctions, pride themselves on their historical association with the founder of the present ruling dynasty. Such idioms and associations, emphasizing a sense of communitas and an egalitarian ethic, have as much, if not more, effect locally on interpersonal relations in everyday life as has the predominant ideology of
621 rank and hierarchy in Tonga's traditional class system. The isolation of the noble title-holder from the members of his native *fonua*, including
565 his recognized *kāinga*, is necessary to establish sharply the distinction between nobles and commoners at the local level in order to make the existence of the class system possible at the societal level. Thus, the crucial definition of class boundaries for the societal class structure as a whole can be observed on the village level in the behavior of the title-holder toward his *kāinga fakafonua* of wich he is a member, but toward which as title-holder he must establish a relationship of sharply defined inequality.

As noted in the second section, the modern Tongan noble has few
[694] legally defined prerogatives regarding the people living on his *tofi'a*. Any violations of the laws by a noble can be brought to court by commoners, although I know of no such cases in 'Uiha or in other communities of Ha'apai. In fact, the noble has a good deal of authority over the people living on his *tofi'a*, usually his *kāinga fakafonua*.

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[7] The merging of a kinship and a community identification occurs in a form of social organization which Murdock called a 'deme'. Goodenough elaborated the developmental aspects of this form (Goodenough, 1970, p. 53): "Overlapping or not, however, if descent groups eventually become coterminus with the community, the community in effect takes over their functions and they cease to exist as separate entities." This is essentially what happened in Tonga, as can be seen from the second section of this paper. If this view is correct, the generalized kinship ideology in Tongan villages is a residual function of the development that Goodenough posited.

Regular exchanges of food after Sunday religious services occurred 621
among domestic groups both related (in terms of recognized *kāinga*
membership) and unrelated. One is as much obligated to help a friend 476
or neighbor asking for assistance as a recognized kinsman.

Thus, concern with status differentiation, entailing either rights or [554]
obligations, does not appear to underlie exchanges among members of a *fonua,* since as putative kinsmen of the *kāinga fakafonua,* everyone is obligated to help and can request support from everyone else. The only [604]
exception to this was the occasional assertion of an *'ilamutu* ('sister's [602]
child') of his/her right to the services and property of his/her *fā'e tangata* ('mother's brother'). However, in this case of the exercise of particular rights associated with the occupation of a culturally defined kin status, the economic consequences are trivial. The problem of attributing observed contents of interactions and exchanges to specific kinship norms or not is a complex and theoretically important question, long ago recognized by Firth (Firth, 1936, pp. 104-117). In 'Uiha, at least, rights and obligations in economic transactions of aid and support among domestic groups are related more to the egalitarian norms of kinship amity than to the hierarchical norms of the kinship system, the latter reflected mainly in the performance of particular appropriate standards of behavior toward ranked *kāinga* members.

There are important factors which do account for cooperation or the lack of it between domestic groups, or between individuals from different households. Obviously, in different contexts, villagers will alternately try to evade, initiate, or fulfill requests for support; the covering ideology of kinship amity and communitas is in no way a binding influence to which villagers uniformly adhere. To discuss these factors, it is necessary to refer to the alternative analytical perspective which views the Tongan village as a collection of segments of dispersed family estates.

In Tongan villages, individual domestic groups or households are [592]
discrete and self-sufficient units of economic activity on the land. Major flows of goods and services as assistance outside the domestic group or household occur among the dispersed kin set or family estate of which the village domestic group is a member or segment. The manner [554]
in which a domestic group responds to requests for support from [612]
neighboring households or initiates requests for support, in terms of the general kinship ideology of the *fonua,* depends significantly on such factors as (1) the economic position of a domestic group in its family estate (whether the members of households are primarily donors or

428 property dies, every thing he leaves behind him fall to the King, but that it is usual to give it to the deseased['s] eldest son, who is obliged to provide or take care of all the other children out of it. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the Son the Moment he is born, to take from the Father the homage and title.

643 One circumstance shews that the goverment is upon a pretty solid basis, as the family of the Fattafees in a direct line, have reigned for 179 one hundred and thirty five years past; for on enquiring if any memory of Tasmans ships had been preserved among them, they informed us that their ancestors had told them that two ships, ("Towacka no papalangie")[1] like ours had once been at the island, and named the place[2] but that they stayed but a few days. And by way of informing us how long it was sence, told us the Name of the Fattafee that was then King, and of those that succeeded down to the present, which is the fifth sence that period, the first being an old man at the time. For what reason I know not, but they call our Ships *Towacka no papalangie* and us *Tangata no papalangie*; that is cloth ships and cloth men.[3]

644 From what has been said of the present King, it will appear that he had the highest rank of any person in the islands, but it is not so; for *Latouleboula*, the person that was pointed out to us for King when I was here last Voyage, as also two or three women rank above him.[4] On our enquiring who these extraordinary personages were, whom they distinguish by the name, or title of [5] they told us, that the late King had a sister of equal rank and elder than himself; she had by a Fidgee man a son and two Daughters, these three as also the Mother rank above Fattafee the King, but why, we never could get any other reason than this of their pedigree.[6] The Mother

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time of Tasman. They held their lands by hereditary right, subject to the king, and from them the members of the particular chiefly lineage and their tenants derived their titles.

[1] *Ko e vaka no papa langi*, 'ships burst from the sky'—that is, ships foreign to the point of wonderment. A *papalangi* is now any white-skinned foreigner.

[2] 'named the place': i.e. the Tongans told Cook where Tasman's ships had been anchored, not (as might be thought on a hasty reading) that he had given the place a name.

[3] Foreign ships and foreign men, rather. But the Tongan also transferred the word *papalangi* to the things the foreigners brought—manufactures such as cloth or linen: hence the translations given by Cook.

[4] Latunipulu, his mother and sisters.

[5] The *Tu'i Tonga fefine* and the *Tamaha*.

[6] The 'late King', Paulaho's father, was Tu'i Pulotu II; his eldest sister, Sinaitakala III, was *Tu'i Tonga fefine*; she married the Fijian chief Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau; their elder daughter was Moungalakepa, and their son was Latunipulu. I do not know who the other daughter was. Possibly she was not Sinaitakala's daughter at all, but the daughter of Nanasipa'u, Ma'ulupekotofa's sister, and Latunipulu, who succeeded Moungalakepa officially as *Tamaha*. Loosely applied, the term *Tamaha* meant any of the offspring of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*; but it was normally the daughter who was the personage 602 appointed in form. Latunipulu was the only male *Tamaha* ever actually appointed. The reason for rank superior to the king's was simply the custom of *fahu*, which gave pre-eminence in the family to the female. Not merely was the sister *fahu*—superior in rank—to her brother, but so were her children, both male and female; and her children also were

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh,
Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the 644
latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June.
They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565
every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276
Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is 574
generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first
cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders [512]
it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he [643]
drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks
who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771
been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly
agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776
superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. [771]
The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King
called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed [184]
the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and
punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them
health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all 182
they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

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fahu to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has [644]
been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not
kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his [602]
nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to
Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's [643]
presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between [264]
Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods
Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa [771]
did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first
Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi- [771]
divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god,
shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or [773]
[775]

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

mother; whenever we ask'd what they were, & if very superior people, 175
they woud be surpris'd at the Question, & said they were Tamaha's, a 177
distinguishing name higher than any, but what particular meaning is in 644
the word, we coud not find out. Although from their fathers country they 604
might not be intitled to power & Possesions, yet their superior rank may 565
arise from that line, as they generally admit that they are oblig'd to shew [576]
signs of respect to the Feegee chiefs, by folding their hands before their
face & bowing their bodies. Women in this Country enjoy equal Privi- 562
ledges of honour & respect with the men, for at our Observatory there were 175
two women who had homage paid to them by the Chiefs, & to one of them 602
Fattafaihe used to bow: I understood this woman to be his near relation,
she had her husband with her, who enjoyd none of these marks of honour.

'Eua

f. 86v. [13 JULY] . . . on the top of the hill is a circular place pil'd round 133
with coral stones & one or two large ones in the middle, this place they [349]
call'd Etchee[1] & said it was built as a mark of Powlohows sovereignty; [312]
there was an Excellent spring of fresh water close by it; we met in several
places in the chasms of the rocks very good water & which might be conveyd down to where the Natives are, yet they do not appear to regard good water, as they in their houses always gave us indifferent & often very brackish water to drink. We were all delightd with the charming prospect from this hill; the Sea on the SE side of the Island is but at a little distance from it & the land rises in broken hills, rugg'd & cliffy, & is not capable of much improvement, but the NW part of the Island has a fine assemblage of hills & Valleys with extensive Meadows & patches of wood, with now & then a plantation; Yet this kind of Country, which we praise so much, does not answer so well the purposes of what the Natives cultivate as the flat borders by the Sea Side, so that it is in a great measure Waste; but it struck us strongly, as the best calculatd place for Cattle of all the Islands; & we thought that to make the Landscape the most charming one imaginable, woud be sheep & Cattle upon the Meadows & hills before us;
We rather hop'd than firmly believ'd, that the sheep which had been given [177]
to Marrawaggee & now put on shore here woud thrive, since the 2 Yews
were very poor & the Ram quite young, however as there are no dogs yet in this Island & as the Natives do not much admire them, they stand a chance of being unmolest'd & from that circumstance may thrive & answer the purpose for which they are left.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 88v–89, 89v–90, with excisions*]

In regard to their numbers I know of no criterion by which to make even a 175
tolerable guess, the Natives followd us from one Island to another, there- 161
fore it is not possible to know the number of any one Island we visit'd; at 162

609

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[1] *eri.*

Fa'ē: mother and all female kinsmen one generation above ego related through the mother. 601

Fa'ē tangata (*tu'asina*)*:* all male kinsmen one generation above ego related through the mother.

Tuofefine (man speaking): all female kinsmen of the same generation.

Tuonga'ane (woman speaking): all male kinsmen of the same generation.

Tokoua: kinsmen of the same sex and the same generation.

'Ilamutu (man speaking): children of *tuofefine.*

Fakafotu (woman speaking): children of *tuonga'ane.*

'Ofefine (man speaking): female offspring of self and *tokoua.*

Foha (man speaking): male offspring of self and *tokoua.*

Tama (woman speaking): male and female offspring of self and *tokoua.*[4]

Mokopuna: all male and female kinsmen two or more generations below ego.

These categories are ranked according to several principles. Starting with ego's generation, the first principle is that females have higher status than males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder has higher status than younger, comes into play. Thus a girl of twelve years of age will have higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age. 612 554

In the relationships of ego with the parental generation, another principle takes precedence. This divides an individual's kinsmen into two parts, the paternal kinsmen being higher than ego and the maternal kinsmen being lower than ego. Operating on this principle is sibling status. Thus in the parental generation the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. After them father's brothers are differentiated in status according to age. Continuing with these principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly higher are the mother's sisters. The principle of age in the mother's sibling group is of little importance to ego.

The relationship of ego to members of the generation below depends primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's children are higher in status than ego, which is reflected in the special term he uses for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. Ego's brother's children are classified with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego. Ego's sister's children have higher status than his own and his brother's children. [601]

Little status or favoritism is involved in ego's relationships with the grandparent-grandchild generations, except for a slight elevation of a daughter's children over a son's children.

The principles of status among *kāinga* delineate the above-named categories of kinsmen, and with these categories or kin types go definite rules of behavior. Thus by knowing the kinship label of any kinsman, an individual knows what the appropriate interaction should be, and what role he should play. 612 602 554 601

Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as 601 – follows: 602

Avoidance—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex 612 (i.e., between *tuofefine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related 554 – through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls *'ilamutu*).

Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).

Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga.*

Welfare and direction—demanded of *tamai* to their *'ofefine* and *foha.*

Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'ē* to *tama.*

Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'ē tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).

No restraints—between *kui* and *mokopuna.*

These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status 602 outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower 612 status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the 554 same generation, which results in avoidance;[5] and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.[6]

The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in 612 the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his *'ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* 602 can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's 604 – farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make 554 ceremonial presentations to his *fahu*. (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the [593] – children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. One's cross-cousins are not terminologically 612 distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in 602 practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, 605 – who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin 601 is called *'ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does.

These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. 612 Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats 554 his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her 602 anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions.

Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals 612 interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.[7] Those of his 554 father's kinsmen are *'eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* 764 – (common),[8] his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family 602

groups bring gifts of mats, tapa, and food, and present them first to the 612
head of one of the three groups, depending on how they are related to the 554
deceased. The gifts are recorded and taken to the house where the dead 764
man lies on a pile of mats and tapa. At his head are one or more persons 602
who are *fahu* ("above the law") to him, i.e., his father's sister, his sister's children, or others of the same kinship categories. The family group bearing the gift presents it to the *fahu,* and each kisses the dead man. After this, the way in which one is related to the deceased determines his course of action. Those whose status is higher than the dead man, i.e., related through the dead man's father, can either stay in the house near the corpse or join the kava ring outside.[9] Those whose status is lower than the dead man, i.e., who are related through the latter's mother, go immediately outside. Here the males prepare the earth oven, the food from which will be distributed after the burial. The females prepare tea and bread, which is eaten before the actual burial, and plait coconut-leaf baskets. The baskets are filled with food from the oven, and one is given to each person who attends. Those who have come to the funeral because they are kinsmen of the dead man's wife, and who are not related to the deceased, may follow either course of action. The deceased's children help with the cooking and do not enter the house until it is almost time for the burial. At this time they kiss the corpse and immediately leave the house. Nonkinsmen who attend can stay in the house, join the kava circles, or help with the cooking and basket plaiting, their choice usually depending on what their friends are doing.

Among the *kāinga* everyone knows his position with regard to everyone 612
else present. The kin term itself reflects the appropriate roles required by 554
the principles of status. These principles predetermine each person's course 602
of action in any family social activity, regardless of other statuses he may
hold in the society. Even the highest noble in the land must prepare the [764]
earth oven at the funeral of his father's sister, while a commoner of no material wealth may sit and drink kava if he is a descendant of the deceased woman.

Inheritance among the *kāinga* uses some of the same principles, but 612
with quite different results. First, although women have higher status than 554
men in most social relatinships, they do not inherit. Second, inheritance 428
is reckoned patrilineally; material wealth, mainly in the form of land, passes from father to son. Third, by the rule of primogeniture, the eldest son inherits. Thus in inheritance the relative age of siblings is of considerable importance in contrast to the small importance it assumes in other
social relationships.[10] The eldest son inherits, becomes the head of the 612
family, and is expected to look after his brothers. His sisters are presumably 554
supported by their husbands, although a man looks after his sisters until 428
they are married and gives first fruits and other gifts to them throughout 593
his lifetime.

A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers. In 612
this case he is said not to inherit from his mother, but from his mother's 554
father, so that the patrilineal emphasis is maintained by skipping his 428

mother's generation. This activates a status principle already operative 612
within the *ḳāinga,* in which ego may take what belongs to his mother's 554
brother. 428

The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges 612
among the *ḳāinga* can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods 554
and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while 602
he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives. 437

SOCIETAL RANKING—CLASS

At the level of the society as a whole, there are two kinds of ranking. 554
The first kind of societal ranking is class rank, which differentiates chiefs 565
(*'eiḳi*) from commoners (*tu'a*). This is further refined in two ways. First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart and is known as the *tu'i* (or today, the King). Second, an intermediate class between chiefs and commoners is *matāpule,* who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs. Thus the traditional class structure can be summarized as follows:

Tu'i: King;
'Eiḳi: Chiefs;
Matāpule: Ceremonial attendants;
Tu'a: Commoners.

Membership in one of the three classes (*'eiḳi, matāpule,* and *tu'a*) is ascribed by birth. A *matāpule* may be recruited from the *tu'a,* but the person selected usually has some genealogical tie to a *matāpule.* Marriage between an *'eiḳi* and a *tu'a* does not change the class of either, and their children are
known as *ngesi taha* (one-shelled). Since European contact in the time of [178]
Tupou I (1875), the chiefly division of the society has been further divided
to distinguish legal chiefs (nobles)from traditional chiefs. The nobles are [423]
the land holders and because of this have a great deal of power.[11] The other chiefs have only ceremonial significance and prestige because of their high birth, having descended from younger sons of former chiefs, nobles, and kings, or their daughters. The position of the traditional chiefs parallels the position of women in the *ḳāinga,* in that they have ceremonial status but no real power. What is important in the class system is the "blood" of both father and mother. It is possible, for example, to be a chief in the class system by virtue of genealogical chiefly connections, and to hold a *matāpule* title. The best known example of this is Tuita, who holds a *matāpule* title, but is a chief in the class system because of a series of marriages of the holders of the Tuita title to daughters of high chiefs. Such people are known as *mu'a 'eiḳi* (or simply *mu'a*) to show that they are *matāpule* by title but chiefs in the class system.

SOCIETAL RANKING—*Ha'a* 554

In the second kind of societal ranking, titles are ranked. The titles of 613
chiefs originated by a process of collateral segmentation starting from the 565
first Tu'i Tonga. The *matāpule* titles originated either when the individual

178

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually 559
inferior. 565

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. 555
Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary. This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners 000
marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank. But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet [565]
Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders [555]
by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES

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1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from [122]
1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Founda- [114]
tion for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was [128]
little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that fre- [127]
quently details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social [178]
organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920.

2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.

3. The term *mataḳali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian [192]
mataqali and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.

4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring) and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her be- [601]
havior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and [602]
correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.

5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.

6. *Toḳoua* can be divided into *ta'oḳete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* 602
(younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance 612
here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *ḳāinga tau* 554
(fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle [601]
does have importance, however, in inheritance.

7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.

8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a* [764]
tu'asina of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* [601]
(for funerals only).

612
9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and 554
tuonga'ane ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the [602]
topics of conversation. [764]
10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required [574]
role.
11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind 554
of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights. 565
12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often [423]
trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be
because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because
"such things are affairs of the chiefs."
13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge 000
among most Tongan adults.
14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The [554]
Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived [565]
on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his [613]
people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a [616]
chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu [616]
line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i [115]
Tonga line.
15. See Figure 1. [127]
16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of 554
the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* 565
of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i 565
Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the 613
Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing 616
did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that [612]
they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' [535]
point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the
formal significance of this dance presentation.
17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of [173]
their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a*
(commoners) or brought from Samoa.
18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation [173]
from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included
in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here
differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent.
19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different [643]
ha'a but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is [644]
not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are
not lineages by the usual definition.
20. See Figure 2.
21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a 616
Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states.
22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a 613
mat and resembled one man with three heads. 554
23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word 565
itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata 173
was from Upolu, Samoa.
24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou
IV.
25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but 613
was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that 554
might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules 565
seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross- 581
cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 582

as a back rest during the coronation of the 'Tu'i Kanokupolu at a place called Havelu in the village of Kanokupolu. 539 643

The second part of Stanza 10 ends the poem by telling us that the reason for the poetry is the commemoration of the great deeds of the chiefly ancestors of the present King, such as the retrieval of Sangone's shell and the distribution of land. It is such deeds that elevated the chiefs of old, and it is their descendants who are today's chiefs, responsible for leading the people and making possible celebrations such as the one during which this *lakalaka* is performed. The celebration (*katoanga*) is referred to in the words "there are many people at *vaha' akolo*" (the area that divides two villages at the place where the palace stands). Line 53, a stylized statement borrowed from an ancient dance type (*fa'ahiula*), refers to the stringing of pandanus keys for a necklace worn by high chiefs at celebrations. The second part of this stanza, then, brings us back to the present and acknowledges the high position of the chiefs to whom the people owe their allegiance. This is the closing counterpart of the *fakatapu* in Stanza 2. 539

The preoccupation with genealogy, apparent in the poetry, reflects the importance of ancestry in the Tongan social system. On the social level all titles and property are validated by appealing to genealogy, and on an everyday level all interpersonal relationships are determined by the genealogies of the persons involved. The structure of the poetry also pays strict attention to the rules of Tongan etiquette, which also is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The *fakatapu* (Stanza 2) must acknowledge the presence of chiefs and people of high rank; and the ending must again refer to the chiefs by bringing attention back to them. It is a stylized way for the *lakalaka* to ask for permission to speak, and after having spoken, again defer to the chiefs. 538 539 602 611 538 539 576

The story, then—that of Sangone in this case—is really secondary and is used as a vehicle for presenting the real object of the poetry and its accompanying dance: to pay allegiance to the established order of Tongan society. 538 [539] [535]

The poetry can be interpreted in many different ways and on many different levels. This paper suggests only a few of the many possible meanings. Many of the references are quite obscure and hidden in rhetoric and metaphorical language. Even the performers seldom know the meaning of what they are performing. They know that the references are to chiefs, but the actual stories and circumstances are known only to other poets who deal in similar Tongan lore, and sometimes to the choreographer, who may be given an explanation by the poet who composed it. The interpretation given here is a composite of information given to me by several individuals, including dancers who knew only a few of the references, a ceremonial attendant (*matāpule*) who helps to teach the dance and explained the obscure references in Stanza 7, and a woman employed in the Palace office who knew the meaning of Stanza 8. Only the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, knew the meanings of Hau-o-Momo, Tangoipomana, the reference to *'ika moana*, and the meaning of Stanza 9. Ve'ehala, however, is a prolific poet who has written *lakalaka* poetry for his own village as well as official *lakalakas* for the Tongan government. [181] [535] 115 539 [538]

The performance of the poetry with dance accompaniment is usually on state occasions, as a "gift" to the Palace, along with first fruits or on other food giving occasions, as a farewell or welcome for one of the royal family, for local celebra- 538 535 [527]

562
644 Tongan culture. In aboriginal Tonga, the *Tamaha* and her descendants
554 always were well treated.
178

INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

178 Change obviously takes place over time and to discuss changes in Tonga
[171] one must first know what Tonga was like. Tonga is the only Polynesian
island group to successfully survive into the twentieth century. It is
178 currently a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau
642 Tupou IV. The survival and establishment of the constitutional monar-
643 chial form of government was due to a skillful and somewhat blood-
thirsty unification of the archipelago in 1852 by King George Tupou,
later known as "the First" and a Great-Great-Great Grandfather of his
current majesty.

178 The unification of the archipelago after the final war in 1852 and the
177 subsequent reorganization and codification of the laws along Western
European concepts brought about changes which have had ramifications
in Tonga to this day. Scarr has shown that Tongans were advised in the
nineteenth century that if Tongans wanted to avoid being "taken over" by
larger foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the trappings of
178 Westernization. This Westernization was replete with a "Western facade"
177 of a written Constitution and codified laws (Scarr 1968: 86). Thus the
642 Constitution of 1875 must serve as a landmark for virtually any discus-
sions pertaining to Tongan culture.

121 In a volume on psychological anthropology, it only seems fitting that
there be some psychological aspects to the paper: psychological aspects
concerning both the Tongans and the numerous Europeans who have been
554 in Tonga and who have written on Tonga. For aboriginal Tongans, rank
was something which came about because one was born into the position.
Status could be achieved by means of arranged marriages, skill at leader-
ship or warfare, or anything which would virtually enhance an individual
602 in the minds of fellow Tongans. The family was all important, or the
[178] genealogical relationships between individuals of the extended family. In
aboriginal Tonga, politics was "kinship writ large," something which
602 seems to exist to this day. The *Tonga Chronicle* of October 17, 1971, had
the following statement in reference to the wife of His Majesty King
642 Taufa'ahau Tupou IV:

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643
> Queen Mata'aho in an interview with the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times* explained the tradition of the people and the monarchy in Tonga is like one big family with the King and Queen looked on as parents.

This may be how some view the monarchy today, and it would probably be 602
consistent with a statement pertaining to aboriginal Tonga, but it is not [643]
how nineteenth-century (and earlier) Europeans viewed Tonga. Alboriginal [642]
Tonga WAS an extended family, with virtually everyone being able to
trace kinship ties with everyone else. The concept of *'eiki* or noble birth [554]
was a perfectly viable one in aboriginal Tonga, for Tongans knew who [565]
was genealogically related to whom. The fact that only a proven individual 114
could be made a leader of men in aboriginal Tonga also made sense 642
— but this did not make sense to European observers of the time. The 175
Europeans, with European concepts of government, expected to find an
articulating "wholeness" in Tonga; instead, as Wilson's statement makes
clear, to their eyes they found chaos:

> The Government of Tongataboo is so complex in itself, and the natives' account of it so different, each taking a particular pride in exalting his own chief above others, that it is difficult to come to any certainty concerning it (Wilson 1799: 269).

Cook's ealier statement from 1777 is also in keeping with this approach:

> Of the nature of Government we know no more than the general outline, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess myself totally ignorant (In Beaglehole 1967: 174).

Cook was not "totally ignorant" but he was honest in his reporting.

When the missionaries arrived, particularly the Wesleyans in the nine- 177
teenth century, they too were confused — but they did something about 797
it: they did not admit to their confusion and set out to convert a culture! 114
They sent back fantastic reports to Sydney and to London and continued
to receive money and supplies to "convert" the Tongans. It was a fortu- 177
itous moment in 1826 when the Wesleyan missionaries Thomas and 797
Hutchinson arrived on Tongatapu: they brought their own supplies (to
augment those abandoned by Lawry when that missionary left in 1823)
to convert the Tongans, they capitalized on the Europeans who had been
living in the archipelago for numerous years, and they also profitted from
the problems of the Tongans. As Thomas relates in his Journal for 1827: 177

> I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is 797
> principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men 643
> departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no
> power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the 669
> part they have rescued from their enemies, SO THAT AT THIS TIME THEY SEEM MUCH CONFUSED, HAVING NO HEAD MAN (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of January 30, 1827. Emphasis added.)

423 to the use of land. For every two householders with *'api tukuhau*
there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation.
The situation with regards to *'api kolo* demonstrated the social signi-
ficance of land still further—a third of the householders were
sharing the *'api* of relations.

369 Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence
[434] agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages.
[433] The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by
Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a
socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It
592 would be erroneous to talk of *per capita* income in Tonga; the
[434] important consideration is family income. Although not entirely con-
trolled by the head of the household as *chef d'entreprise*, the broad
direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of
all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in
[594] education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are
[595] extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

183 It would not be *fakatonga*, the right behaviour in terms of
602 respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land,
369 residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are
characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common
369 to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably
bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely
434 on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional
423 income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family
obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they
depend on it for food. There would be few established household
heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have
a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their
592 influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find
employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commit-
ment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the
family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the
592 household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some
434 member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar"
sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of
[182] handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family
employment provides material security in an economy which offers
insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic
obligations borne by the *chef d'entreprise* towards his kin.

556 It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent
437 involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the
[369] villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation.
[465] There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

591 592

half of these were sharing 'api tukuhau with their in-laws.

[423] [582] [427]

The migrant appears welcome to stay in the local household as long as he wishes and it is not unusual for him to do so for several years. There is rarely any question of payment for board or for the use of 'api kolo or 'api tukuhau though by mutual, unspoken understanding the migrant will supply a share of the food or contribute in other ways towards family expenses. Even when it is possible to live elsewhere and so avoid kin obligations, few choose to do so.

423

Table III

The Migrant and Access to Land, 1963-4

	Migrants[a] %	Total Household Questionnaire %
Registered 'Api Kolo	38	57
Registered 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	18	49
Registered 'Api Tukuhau elsewhere[b]	13	6
Sharing 'Api Tukuhau	42	25
No use of 'Api Tukuhau	27	20
No use of 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	40	31
Number in Sample	74	107

[a] Based on Employment and Household Questionnaires.

[b] Application for an 'api in Tongatapu requires a previous cancellation of titles elsewhere.

602 [604] [591]

The hierarchy of Tongan family relations is such that a young relative tends to feel more relaxed with close relations on his mother's side (fa'e tangata). These relations are under some obligation to him whereas he is obligated to his father's eldest sister (mehekitanga) and to a lesser extent to all his father's relations. It is natural, then, that a migrant will endeavour to stay with his mother's people. As one informant put it, "You feel closer to your mother's side because you are above them."

154 602 166

It is significant that few migrants considered they had any special problems of adjustment on arrival. The strength and importance of kin ties in this pattern of chain migration is best seen in the migrants' own comments:

> "I had relations here. The burden was easier."
> "I had no problems because my elder brother was here."

154
602
166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in
464 obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more
difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
[186] should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of
[171] mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which
supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant
expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties
with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place.
It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in
Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
602 visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see
431 Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no
574 close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose
obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters
living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with
the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

Introduction

121 [114] In this dissertation the fit between behavior and a conscious model for behavior is examined. The data utilized in this study were obtained in Tonga as part of my research on the topics of village economies and kinship reciprocity.

The study of the relationship between ideals and behavior is one of considerable importance. I think it is evident that some social scientists operate as if conscious models and behavior reflect the same reality or else they do not consider the problem at all. Later I will give examples of how such positions have led to misleading statements about Tongan kinship and exchange. It is also true that people may think their conscious model of some area of behavior reflects the behavior pattern actually present in that area. [602] [829] For instance, Tongans believe that their pattern of behavior in their relationships with kinsmen conforms to their model of kinship reciprocity. By examining the fit between ideals, conscious models, and behavior, something valuable may be learned about both folk and scientific conceptualization of social reality.

In addition to the problem established above, this study includes description and analysis of Tongan kinship. As will be evident later

121 knowledge of cultural principles can one expect to predict behavior patterns? If not, what is the relationship between cultural principles and behavior? To begin answering these questions, two bodies of data are used: (1) a conscious model constructed from cultural principles relevant to kinship reciprocity, and (2) a behavioral pattern constructed from observed events.

121 The Tongan conscious model of kinship reciprocity depicts a flow
602 of goods based on the ranking of kinship categories. These data exist
at the conscious level; they do not include inferences concerning the
(128) subconscious of social actors. In the text of this paper I use the
terms ideological model and conscious model to refer to the pattern
or kinship reciprocity described by cultural principles. The term,
model, as used here means a representation of a behavioral pattern.

The phenomenal level of kinship reciprocity is represented by a behavioral pattern constucted from a sample of exchange events occurring between kinsmen. The behavioral pattern does not constitute a model as it is built up from the data; i.e., it is not a model of kinship reciprocity; it is kinship reciprocity.

Sampling Units and Samples

121
125 Exchange events are the sampling units and are defined as all
transfers of goods or services from one principal to another in which
rights of ownership and/or usufruct are also transferred. Two samples
(124) of exchange events were obtained from one village. A stratified random sample, sample A, was drawn by selecting twenty household heads

166 wage labor as incentive for immigrating.

166 Recent immigration to Puke followed a pattern dependent on the im-
602 migrant having kin ties to persons already residing in the village.
For instance, the seven Puke household heads from the Niua islands form
two separate groups of kinsmen; each group was begun by one man marry-
ing a woman of Puke, residing uxorilocally, and then being followed by
other close kinsmen. This pattern of immigration is widespread on
Tongataup and is based on the reliance upon kinsmen for access to land.
[114] Walsh (1969: 95) has documented this process in Nuku'alofa.

Village Leadership

621 Village leadership is concentrated in three positions: town offi-
622 cer (ofisi kolo), noble ('eiki), and church steward. In Puke the sole
representative of the government is the town officer; as such his role
is primarily that of messenger and organizer while important decisions
[621] are made at higher levels. Government related tasks of the town offi-
[625] cer are delivering government orders in the fono, carrying out certain
[205] police functions, accepting delivery of village mail and other minor
administrative functions. However limited the official powers of the
[554] town officer, his sphere of influence may be increased by such factors
as kin alliances, control of land or other wealth, and oratorical abi-
[666] lity. The town officer is the only elected village leader.

621 Puke is a rather atypical village in that the noble, who holds the
565 estate upon which Puke is located, resides in the village. Most nobles
choose to live in Nuku'alofa and are represented in their villages by

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTS OF KINSHIP

602 The Tongans' conscious model of kinship reciprocity is based upon their concept of the relative rank between kinsmen. In this chapter I 128 602 will describe the concept of kin ranking and the criteria used to establish relative rank. The groups and categories of people formed by Tongan notions of descent, filiation, and affiliation will also be presented and discussed.

The Study of Nonunilineal Descent

121 611 114 The literature available on Tongan kinship contains conflicting statements concerning the ideology of descent and the nature of groups formed by that ideology. Consequently, I will begin by describing this conflict and discussing it in terms of my observations and analysis.

114 611 Nonunilineal forms of descent have only recently come under detailed discussion by anthropologists; Goodenough (1955,1970), Firth (1957), Murdock (1960), Freeman (1961), Davenport (1959), and Fox (1967) have all contributed substantially to the discussion and understanding of nonunilineal systems. Modern studies of such descent systems have shown the need for a refinement and clarification of concepts used by anthropologists for analysis of kinship. Curiously enough the concept of descent itself has been insufficiently defined and used with a variety of meanings. Ward Goodenough (1970: 39) contends that anthropolo-

601 applied. All kinsmen two or more generations above ego are referred to
as kui but generation distance may be marked by number so that grand-
parents are kui taha, great grandparents are kui u'a, etc.[1] [A] Likewise,
all kinsmen two or more generations below ego are grouped under the
term mokopuna and generations may be stipulated by number (See Table 8
[612] for terminology). [B] Affines, including H, HB, W, WZ, are referred to as
mali but are not considered to be part of one's kāinga.

Tongans easily shift from this clasificatory terminology to a
more descriptive form by using the same terms but confining their mean-
ing to the "real" relationships, e.g., 'brother of my father' tokoua
(551) (554) o'e tamai. Names or titles are used in address, not kin terms.

602 Kin ranking is a conceptual overlay on the terminological system
554 just described. Relative ranking utilizes a somewhat different set of
criteria combining filiation, sex of alter relative to ego to form a
system of relationships in which no two kinsmen can be said to be of
equal rank. The criterion of filiation is applied first so that all
agnates outrank uterines; agnates are 'eiki 'chiefly', and uterines are
602 tu'a 'commoners'. The criterion of sex is applied so that in all cate-
554 gory pairs distinguishable only by sex, e.g. fa'e-fa'e tangata, the
562 female category is of higher rank than the male category. In categor-
ies including both male and females, e.g., 'ilamutu, females outrank
[561] males regardless of age. Lastly, alters of the same sex and same cate-
gory are ranked according to their relative age so that older indivi-
duals outrank younger individuals.

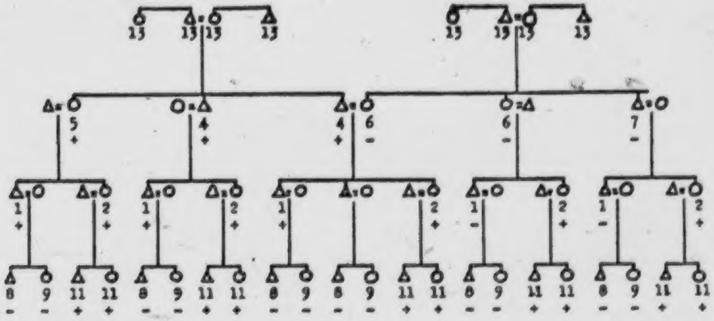
A. [For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst] B. [See pp. 42-43--Analyst]

FIGURE 2

Kin Reference Terms and Kin Ranking for Male Ego

(Numbers correspond to kin categories presented in Table 8.)[A]
(A negative (-) sign symbolizes rank lower than ego.)
(A positive (+) sign symbolizes rank higher than ego.)

601
602
554
561


13 13 13 13 13 13 13 13
5 + 4 + 4 + 6 - 6 - 7 -
1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 - 2 + 1 - 2 +
8 - 9 - 11 + 11 + 8 - 9 - 11 + 11 + 8 - 9 - 8 - 9 - 11 + 11 + 8 - 9 - 11 + 11 + 8 - 9 - 11 + 11 +

[A] [See pp. 42-43--Analyst]

553 602 554 A partial, but permanent, transfer of certain aspects of the parental role is the practice of *fakahingoa* 'to name'. The namer is usually a high ranking kinsman of either the father or mother. Aoyagi (1966: 165-167) discusses this custom and the relationships involved. Quite often the namer is the *mehekitanga* 'FZ', who is the highest ranking kinsman in the first ascending generation of the names. Occasionally, 553 554 unrelated persons of high status within the community may be asked to give a name such as persons with important church positions. The namer is partially responsible for the moral welfare and training of the names, and may be called upon to assist the child either through counseling or by material assistance.

429 The Tongan term that I gloss as fosterage is *tauhi* meaning 'to protect', or as a noun, 'guardian'. Under the arrangememts of fosterage there is no alteration of the child's kinship status or inheritance rights. [593] The jural parents retain the right to make any important decisions affecting the child's training and future. As with adopters, [602] guardians are usually kinsmen, but they may be compensated materially by the jural parents for their role as protectors and providers. Examples of circumstances leading to fosterage are periods of serious illness of a parent, divorce or separation of jural parents, parents' traveling and working abroad, or education opportunities available to children by a change of residence.

597 I would like to define adoption as any putatively permanent transfer of child custody involving a transfer of primary rights of jural parenthood. Following this definition there are two types of adoption

592 597 dent families or individuals. The last phase is the declining household with no or few children present and an increasing reliance upon other households for subsistence needs.

By using adopting mothers' ages as a rough indicator, it was found that adoptions tend to cluster at two points in the household phase, and the adopting mothers averaged about thirty-six years of age. The second cluster occurs in the declining household phase with adopting mothers having an average age of about sixty-four (See Table 9). A

597 591 885 [581] The motivations for young family adoptions are closely connected with achieving adult status. For Tongans, marriage is not a final step in attaining adult status. Many young couples begin married life by taking up residence with consanguines of either the bride or the groom. During the next few months or years the couple remains dependent on the household head and his wife. How long this period of dependency lasts [602] depends on several factors including the husband's success at finding land or a wage-labor job, how friendly the relationship with the host family remains, and the grouwth of the new family. This period often ends at about the time the first child is born, by the couple establishing a separate household. 597 885 851 Although recognition as an adult does not come abruptly, bearing a child and assuming the responsibility for its care is an important step. Because of the importance of having and caring for children in attaining adult status, young couples usually become prospective adopters if they are unable to have children of their own.

A [See p. 62--Analyst]

592 597 moved out of the household. At this stage adults feel the need for companionship, and may also need assistance in performing household chores and subsistence tasks.

597 The reasons why parents allow their children to be adopted are both the negative factors of hardship and a willingness to assist childless couples. [848] Illegitimate children are frequently adopted by someone in the mother's family, not because of any great stigma but to give the child a socially acceptable position and to free the mother to find a husband. [837] Children thought to have been conceived in adulterous relationships are often unwanted by the mother's husband, and he might insist that the child be adopted out. [586] [768] Men who lose their wives through death or divorce and are left with small children will usually allow them to be adopted or even actively seek an adopter. Parents experiencing economic hardship, severe illness, or marital instability may actively encourage the adoption of their children. [602] It is believed that families with several children should be willing to give one to a childless kinsman and in some cases this seems to be the only motivation.

Gratitude for services rendered will sometimes result in adoptions. A women who cures a sick child may be given the child as a gesture of parental appreciation. Another example is provided by a man I shall call Finau who was visiting an outer island. During his stay there Finau had an argument with the kinsman he was visiting and was asked to leave. A non-kinsman befriended him and looked after Finau until passage could be arranged back to Tongatapu, the main island. Out of gratitude Finau asked his benefactor what he could do in return. The

597 friend answered that he wanted Finau to adopt his son and take him back to the main island where the boy could receive a better education.

The Adoption Transaction

No numerical data were collected on the frequency of adoption requests, but it seems that requests are denied far more frequently than honored. Most requests are made within a short time prior to parturition, or in the first few weeks following the child's birth. It is felt that it is best to make the request before the mother and child have become emotionally attached. Although it is considered generous both [597] [591] to adopt a child and to give up a child for adoption, the denial of adoption requests does not usually upset relationships between parents and prospective adopters.

Although both husbands and wives must be agreeable to allowing the adoption of their children, women seem to take more interest and tend to play a dominant role in the adoption process. In considering only 599 602 those cases in which only one spouse was related to the adoptee, 68 percent of the adoptees were related to the adopting mother. This also indicates that 68 percent of the adoptions were arranged by the adopting mothers because kinsmen are always the principals in the adoption transactions. That is, a man would not try to negotiate an adoption with his wife's kinsmen, nor would a woman attempt to arrange the adoption with her husband's kinsmen. This procedure for arranging adoptions provides a measure of protection for the maintenance of good relationships between kinsmen. A denial of a request usually comes from which-

597 ever of the biological parents is not related to the prospective adopter,
[602] while the parent that is related can claim he was ready to honor the request if only his spouse had been agreeable.

If the prospective adopter is able to find parents willing to allow him to adopt this child, the custody of the child is transferred with-
597 out any ceremony. Although there is no exchange of goods at the time
571 of the transaction, adoptions are thought to bring the two sets of parents closer together, and future reciprocities may increase. After the adoption transaction the adopting parents' obligations to the biological parents increase. However, any mention of money or goods owed is socially unacceptable and any person doing so would be censored. In
597 one case the biological parents of the adopted child approached the adopter and requested that he return the child. The adopter agreed to return the child if the parents would compensate him for having cared
[626] for the child. The parents, unable to pay the amount asked, made the incident known publicly, and the adopter became a subject of gossip for trying to "sell a child".

A rather typical example of the adoption process is provided by a man I shall call Samisoni. Samisoni did not marry until late in his twenties, and after three years of marriage his wife had not had a
[612] child. Samisoni wanted a child from his own kāinga so he went to his younger brother, Sione, who had one child of two and an infant of less than a month, and requested the younger child. Sione was agreeable to the adoption but the child's mother said she did not have enough children, and was unwilling to give one up. The request was denied. About

597 a year later Sione's wife had another child, and Samisoni renewed his request which again was denied by Sione's wife. Samisoni had no other close kinsman with young children so he gave up trying to adopt from his own kinsmen and allowed his wife to arrange the adoption of one of her sister's children.

Most adoption transactions are initiated by the prospective adopter, but as suggested previously, in some circumstances the biological parents will actively seek an adopter. One case of this involved a man [768] whose wife had died leaving him with several young children. The man found another woman willing to marry him but she did not want his children; therefore, he made arrangements for his brother to adopt the children. In general, it is far easier to find someone willing to adopt children than it is to find parents willing to give them up.

Adoption and Kinship Reciprocity

597
602 With the large majority of adoption transactions occurring between close kinsmen, it is evident that adoption is closely related to the sentiment of kinship. Table 10 illustrates the relationships between adopters and adoptees.[A] In Chapter VI the pattern of kinship reciprocity reflected in the sample of adoption transactions will be presented and compared with the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Here I do want to point out that 69 percent of adoptees were obtained from the adopting mother's kinsmen rather than from the adopting father's kinsmen. This pattern probably reflects the greater interest of women in the adoption process and in its outcome. Women enter into adoption

[A] [See p. 68--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

TABLE 10

Relationship of Adopting Mother to Adoptee Before Adoption*

597
602

Relationship	Percent Adoptees
ZC	18
BC	22
HZC	9
HBC	6
SC	18
DC	16
BSC	1
BDC	4
MZSC	1
MZDC	3
HFBSC	1
HMMBSC	1
Total	100

* Figures based on eighty-one adoptions.

597 602 transactions as initiators, negotiators, and beneficiares far more frequently than men.

593 597 [171] Goodenough (Carroll 1970: 404-405) has suggested that in Polynesia the transfer of child custody may, in fact, be an exercise of parenthood rights beyond those of the biological parents. 593 597 603 608 In Tonga grandparents and classificatory parents have some rights of jural parenthood, but primary rights are held by the biological parents. Secondary rights of parenthood are succeeded to in cases where a child is abandoned or in cases where both parents have died. In situations such as this, which are relatively rare, grandparents or classificatory parents would probably assume the responsibility of parenthood.

593 597 Tongan adoptions constitute a transfer of jural parenthood and in that sense are true adoptions. The principals in an adoption transaction are the adopter and the adoptee's biological parents, and in each case the biological parents both must agree to relinquish their rights of jural parenthood before an agreement is reached.

[602] It is the kin relationship between adopters and biological parents that determines the nature of the adoption process, not the existence of overriding rights to jural parenthood.

Circumstances of Adoption

597 602 An adoptee in Tongan society does not break with kin ties established through his genetrix and genitor; rather, he assumes a second set of relationships. [608] If a child is adopted by a classificatory parent there is little shift in terminology with respect to the kinsmen of that

597 602 608 adopter. However, the other adopter would not have been related prior to the adoption, so all of that parent's kinsmen become kinsmen of the adoptee. In effect, the number of persons related ot the adoptee is increased by about one-third, and the intensity of some prior relationships is altered-classificatory siblings become "real" siblings and classificatory parents become "real" parents.

597 602 561 Adoption could also alter the adoptee's kinship rank. For instance, if a female was the youngest D of the youngest S and was adopted by her F's eldest Z, her position is almost completely altered and she becomes the highest ranking person of her generation with regard to her F's Kinsmen.

597 593 The adoptee's relationship to his biological parents varies from those cases where he rarely sees them to those cases where he is in almost daily contact with them. The biological parents may bring gifts (574) (578) of food and other items to their child and he may occasionally visit them for a few days; however, the more frequent and intense the contact between adoptee and biological parents, the more likely it is that friction will occur between the adopting parents and the biological parents.[2]

597 Adoptees frequently become the pele 'favorite' of their adopted parents and some Tongans think of adopted children as spoiled children. An adoptee is in a position to get special treatment from his adopted parents because he is more likely to be an only child, the only child of one sex, or the youngest or oldest child. Another possible reason for the special treatment of adoptees is that adopted parents fear the child will return to his biological parents unless they treat him kindly.

597 Exposition of one case will illustrate some of the complications
and alterations that result from adoption. Lutu was adopted at the age
of seven months by Va and Tevita; Va was Lutu's FMS but after the adop-
tion Lutu called Va fa'e 'mother' and Tevita tamai 'father'. Va had
one child of her own, a daughter, but the girl married young and left
597 home so Va wanted another child. When Lutu was nine years old, Va be-
763 came very ill and Lutu was sent back to live with his natural parents.
593 Va's illness continued for about a year and then she died; at that time
Lutu ran away and returned to live with Tevita, his adopted father.
593 During the next few years Lutu's mother came several times to take him
597 to her home but each time he ran away and waited until she had left to
578 return. During this period there were a lot of hard feeling between
Tevita and Lutu's biological parents. The last time Lutu's mother came
to take him back he was seventeen and he told her he was old enough to
decide for himself and he wanted to stay with Tevita.

597 When Lutu's biological mother died he did not go to her funeral,
764 but when his biological father died both he and his adopted father at-
593 tended the funeral. Lutu inherited nothing from his biological parents;
[428] all of their possessions went to a younger son. When Tevita died Lutu
inherited all his possessions.

597 The case is also an example of how adoption creates alternatives
602 for the adoptee. Both Lutu's biological parents and adopting parents
resided in the same village, but the biological parents had few kinsmen
within the village while the adopting father had several kinsmen. By
stressing his relationship with his adopting father, Lutu closely

597 602 aligned himself with six household heads within the village, two of which held strong positions of leadership.

Summary

858 181 Children are highly valued resources that satisfy certain social and psychological needs of Tongan adults. Those needs are, in turn, related to Tongan concepts of adulthood, parenthood, and family. Adop-
858 181 597 [593] tion is one process through which children, as resources, can be controlled and redistributed. The adoption process, then, reveals a great deal about parent-child relationships generally and about the importance of children to Tongan adults.

597 602 Adoption is primarily a transaction confined to principals who are kinsmen. This strongly reflects the Tongan attitude that kinsmen constitute a close, more trustworthy group than do non-kinsmen.

Adoption results in a shift in the adoptee's kinship network without breaking ties established through biological parents. Consequently, the adoptee finds himself with increased options for affiliation and inheritance.

431 other people to him; this situation provides both security and some
554 degree of personal power.

431 To assess the combined influence of social distance and geographic
571 distance on exchange, each exchange was categorized as to whether the
602 principals were kinsmen or not, and as to whether they resided in the
same village or not. These two variables are cross-tabulated and presented in Table 17.[A] There is a strong tendency for principals residing in different villages also to be kinsmen (Compare cells C and D). However, the reverse is not true: There is a strong tendency for principals residing in the same village to be non-kinsmen. This conclusion
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431 is drawn from the statistics presented below the table. Q measures the
571 one-way association present and is fairly high, while phi, measuring
602 two-way association, is considerably lower. Where λa is .29 when kinship is predicted on the basis of knowledge of location, it is only .05 when location is predicted by knowledge of kinship. λ which considers both of these possibilities is .17, intermediate of the λa values.

121 Marshall Sahlins (1965: 149-153) offers an hypothesis suggesting
431 that as geographic distance increases, social distance decreases. I
571
602 cannot directly relate my data to his hypothesis as my data show only the frequency distribution within one type of reciprocity. Sahlins' hypothesis requires data fitting his tripartate typology of reciprocity-general, balance, and negative reciprocity. However, my data do illustrate that kinship is an important criterion for selection of exchange partners from among persons residing in different villages.

[A] [See p.102--Analyst]

TABLE 17

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Social and Geographic Distance

	Kinsmen	Non-kinsmen	
Same Village	A 150	B 236	386
Different Villages	C 160	D 58	218
	310	294	604

Cell	Observed	Expected	o-e	$\frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$
A	150	198.1	-48.1	11.68
B	236	187.9	+48.1	12.31
C	160	111.9	+48.1	20.68
D	58	106.1	-48.1	21.81
		(Significant at $<$.001)		66.48=X^2

θ = .34

Q = .63

λ_a = .29 (Kinship is dependent variable)

λ_a = .05 (Location is dependent variable)

λ = .17

CHAPTER VI

IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

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121 In this chapter I will present the conscious model of kinship reciprocity and compare it with the patterns of reciprocity I observed in adoption transactions and in the transfer of material items. The procedure will be to describe the conscious model, see if it is predictive of behavior, and then discuss the results of such a comparison.

The Conscious Model

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554 The basic characteristic of the conscous model is that it describes the rights and duties existing between ego and the several kin categories, and bases the distribution of rights and duties on the concept of
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114 kin ranking. Although the conscious model I present here is based on primary data that I obtained, other researchers in Tonga have noticed and recorded similar data. E.W. Gifford (1929: 17-19) discusses the effect of relative ranking on behavior, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole discusss some implications of kin ranking for kinship reciprocity (1941: 76-78), and Adrienne Kaeppler, after discussing kinship rank, said

[612]
[431]
[437]
> The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the kāinga can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives (1971: 179).

However, none of these researchers has presented any data on exchange that would indicate whether the conscious model is actually reflected

602 554 (114) by behavior or not.

602 554 183 431 437 Below I have listed the kinship dyads and described the ideal behavior for each dyad as it exists in the conscious model. The kin terms are defined and discussed in Chapter III.

Fa'e-Tama: A woman should treat those she refers to as tama in a protective and loving manner; she should look after their physical and emotional needs with only tama's well-being in mind. In return tama should behave in a loving and respectful manner toward fa'e. Women should not punish tama with more than mild physical abuse. Fa'e is of lower rank than tama and the flow of goods should be from fa'e to tama.

Fa'e Tangata-'Ilamutu: 'Ilamutu has an almost unrestrained access to the goods and services controlled by fa'e tangata, and may act in a demeaning and overbearing manner toward him. Fa'e tangata should submit to the demands of 'ilamutu. Fa'e tangata is of lower rank than 'ilamutu and the flow of goods and services should be from fa'e tangata to 'ilamutu.

Tamai-Foha: Tamai is responsible for the moral welfare and direction of foha; toward that end he demands respect and obedience of foha. This relationship is marked by several prohibitions which indicate a [784] discouragement of familiarity between the principals. Foha cannot wear the clothing of tamai, cannot use his personal possessions, must not eat from the same serving of food, nor sleep on tamai's bed. Foha should not stand to speak to a tamai who is sitting, and should not interrupt tamai while he is speaking to others. The flow of goods and services should be from foha to tamai.

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Tamai-'Ofefine: This relationship is generally the same as tamai-foha except tamai should be less severe toward 'ofefine than toward foha. The flow of goods and services should be from 'ofefine to tamai.

Mehekitanga-Fakafotu: Mehekitanga should always be shown respect; she is ego's highest ranking relative. Mehekitanga is responsible for teaching fakafotu respect and appropriate Tongan custom. Familiarity is strongly discouraged between fakafotu and mehekitanga. Any time that fakafotu catches fish, harvests his garden, or kills a pig, he should give mehekitanga a portion. The flow of goods and services, then, is from fakafotu to mahekitanga.

Tokoua-Tokoua: This relationship is more complicated than other kin dyads because ego's tokoua may be either above him or below him in rank. The key to ego's relationship with his tokoua is the relative rank of the connecting, consanguineal link so that tokoua related patrilaterally are higher ranking than ego, and those related matrilaterally are of lower rank than ego.

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Ego should defer to FZC and FBC, and MSC and MBC should defer to ego. Tokoua of the same parents are ranked relative to each other according to age, but the ideal flow of goods and services within the sibling group is balanced. Younger siblings give to older siblings because of relative rank but older siblings are obligated to assist younger siblings also. In this relationship, then, the direction specified for material flow is from matrilateral tokoua to ego to patrilateral tokoua.

602 Tuofefine-Tuonga'ane: Tuonga'ane must show respect toward his
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183 tuofefine and several prohibitions exist in this avoidance relationship.
431 Tuonga'ane cannot sleep in the same house as their tuofefine, they can-
437
[784] not speak of sexulaly-related matters, and tuonga'ane and tuofefine
should not walk or talk alone together. Physical affection should not
[593] be present in this relationship. Boys and men are responsible for the
welfare of the sisters and should willingly assist them with labor and
goods. So the flow of goods, then, is from tuonga'ane to tuofefine.

Kui-Mokopuna: This should be a relationship of mutual understanding and affection. There are no special restrictions or avoidances, and no direction of reciprocity is specified.

602 This scheme of reciprocity as set forth in the conscious model is
554 in one sense not reciprocity at all. That is, if only the flow of goods
431
437 and services between individuals is considered, the flow is very much
in a one-way direction. However, if the entire kindred of each ego is
considered, a balance emerges where at least in theory ego would have
as many persons to receive from as to give to. In the conscious model
of kin reciprocity, then, ego is the center of an activity system in
which decisions concerning the flow of goods and services are ideally
made according to ego's kinship rank relative to other individuals within
128 the system. Now I will present the patterns of behavior actually present
within that system by using the data recorded in observing the exchanges
of goods and in the exchanges of children.

Comparison of Ideals and Behavior

602 431 437 The conscious model pertains only to the flow of goods between kinsmen, and in the sample of exchange events involving material items, sample B, there are 267 events in which exact genealogical information could be recorded. This sample is presented in Table 18.[A] The adoption [597] transactions provide another sample of 81 exchange events. In Table 19[B] both samples are presented in percentage figures to facilitate comparison.

128 In Table 19 each kin dyad is presented and the direction of flow of goods and children is indicated. Where (I) appears in the table, it marks the ideal direction of exchange.

Now I want to discuss each dyad in turn and will do so by referring to the number corresponding to the dyad in Table 19. In dyad number one
602 431 437 183 597 the flow of goods is predominantly in the ideal direction, but all adoption transactions involving this relationship are in the opposing direction. For the adoption transactions the demographic fact that the _tama_ in these transactions would be the only ones in possession of young children almost precludes exchange of children in the ideal direction.

In dyad number two which is the 'MB'-'ZC' relationship, there is a lower frequency than one would expect, yet this relationship is one in which exchange in the ideal direction is of paramount importance in the conscious model. The conscious model does not specify number but it does seem to imply a high frequency. The ideal direction of exchange does not predominate in a comparison with the opposing direction. The cases of adoption involving this relationship are too few to come to any conclusion except to note that this dyad is not frequently involved

A. [See pp. 108-110--Analyst] B. [See pp. 111-112--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

TABLE 18

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

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Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
B	Tuonga'ane	22	7.0	Tuofefine	+
FBS	"	1	.3	"	+
FZS	"	5	1.6	"	+
MMBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
BS	Fakafotu	1	.3	Mehekitanga	+
FBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
FBD	"	1	.3	"	+
FZSS	"	1	.3	"	+
ZS	Tama	2	.6	Fa'e	+
FZDS	"	1	.3	"	+
S	"	1	.3	"	+
Z	Tuofefine	35	11.2	Tuonga'ane	-
FBD	"	1	.3	"	-
FFBSD	"	1	.3	"	-
MBD	"	3	1.0	"	-
BS	Foha	7	2.3	Tamai	+
FBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
S	"	4	1.3	"	+
BD	'Ofefine	3	1.0	"	+
D	"	13	4.2	"	+
ZS	'Ilamutu	10	3.2	Fa'e Tangata	-

TABLE 18 (Continued)

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Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
ZD	'Ilamutu	1	.3	Fa'e Tangata	-
MBDD	"	1	.3	"	-
F	Tamai	11	3.5	Foha	-
FB	"	7	2.3	"	-
FFBS	"	1	.3	"	-
F	"	20	6.4	'Ofefine	-
FB	"	2	.6	"	-
FZ	Mehekitanga	1	.3	Fakafotu	-
FFZD	"	1	.3	"	-
FMZD	"	1	.3	"	-
M	Fa'e	7	2.3	Tama	+
MZ	"	8	2.6	"	+
MMBD	"	1	.3	"	+
MMZD	"	1	.3	"	+
MB	Fa'e Tangata	6	1.9	'Ilamutu	+
MFZS	" "	2	.6	"	+
FM	Kui	2	.6	Mokopuna	ns*
FF	"	1	.3	"	"
FFB	"	1	.3	"	"
DS	Mokopuna	1	.3	"	"

TABLE 18 (Continued)

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

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Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
B	Tokoua	31	10.0	Tokoua	ns*
FZD	"	1	.3	"	-
Z	"	17	5.4	"	ns*
FBS	"	8	2.6	"	-
FZS	"	5	1.6	"	-
FFBSS	"	1	.3	"	-
MBS	"	1	.3	"	+
MZS	"	4	1.3	"	+
MFBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
MMZDS	"	2	.6	"	+
MBD	"	1	.3	"	+
MZD	"	2	.6	"	+
MFZDD	"	1	.3	"	-
Total		267	100.0		

* Not specified by conscious model

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TABLE 19

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction		Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequency of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Consciou Model (Adoptions)
1. Fa'e - Tama	(I)**	7	0	8	34	+	+
Tama - Fa'e		12	34				
2. Fa'e Tangata - 'Ilamutu	(I)	4	1	7	1	-	+
'Ilamutu - Fa'e Tangata		4	0				
3. Foha - Tamai	(I)	4	0	12	0	-	0
Tamai - Foha		7	0				
4. 'Ofefine - Tamai	(I)	6	0	14	0	-	0
Tamai - 'Ofefine		8	0				
5. Fakafotu - Mehekitange	(I)	1	5	3	5	0	+
Mehekitange - Fakafotu		1	0				
6. Tokoua - Tokoua (Real)		18	24	18	24	0	0
" " (Paternal)		6	0	10	3	-	+
" " (Maternal)	(I)	4	3				
7. Tuonga'ane - Tuofefine	(I)	11	24	26	33	-	+
Tuofefine - Tuonga'ane		15	9				

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TABLE 19 (Continued)

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction	Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequencey of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Adoptions)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
8. Kui-Mokopuna	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mokopuna-Kui	1	0				

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* All figures in percentages. Frequency based on 267 material exchanges and 81 adoption transactions.

** (I) indicates ideal model.

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in adoption.

Dyad three is another instance where the ideal flow of goods does not predominate. No adoption transactions involved principals in this relationship. With a slightly higher frequency of exchange, dyad number four is very similar to dyad three.

Dyad five is another relationship where a high frequency of exchange is implied by the conscious model but is not present in the behavior pattern. The flow of goods appears to be balanced in this relationship. The flow of children in the adoption transactions does conform to the direction specified in the ideal model, with 5 percent of adoptees being obtained from 'BC' and none being obtained from 'FZ'.

Transactions transpiring between siblings of the same sex are presented in dyad six, and the exchange of goods again indicates that the conscious model is not being followed. In the adoption sample, 3 percent of the adoptees were obtained from matrilateral cousins and none were obtained from patrilateral cousins; this does conform to the conscious model. Direction of exchange is not specified for children of the same parents and sex.

Again in dyad seven the direction of exchange of goods does not conform to the conscious model. However, in the adoption transactions the conformity of behavior to the specifications of the conscious model is better. In dyad nine no direction is specified and there is a low frequency of exchange.

In Table 20 A all exchanges are recorded as to whether or not they conform to the conscious model. Overall the pattern of behavior does

A.[See p.114--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

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TABLE 20

Conformity and Non-Conformity to Conscious Model by Percent

	Conforms	Does Not Conform	Not Specified*	Total
Goods	37	43	20	100
Children	33	43	24	100

* Direction not specified in the conscious model of kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of
183 kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious
597 model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This
[121] means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly discribes kinship reciprocity.

602 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in
431 437 contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about
593 kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two rela-
[597] tionships. In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine
[162] individuals. I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan
[594] women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composition.
[594] Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the relationships
593 established within the household and the family of orientation
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437 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and established
new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
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437 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
602 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
[166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical distribution
of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
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437 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
[594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1] A

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125 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained

A. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

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602 125 there were a total of eighty-four adoptions, three of which were cases
where non-kin had been principals in the adoption transactions. So
592 602 4 percent of adoption transactions involve non-kinsmen while the com-
431 parable percentage for the transfer of goods is 49 percent. As stated
437 above 50 percent of the exchanges in the sample involving material items
597 593 were between principals who were parent-child or sibling-sibling. The
431 comparable percentage figure for the adoption sample is 89 percent. I
437 [858] interpret this to mean that because children are more important resources
than are goods, they circulate within a much smaller, more closely related group.

602 431 437 The other characteristic of the behavior pattern is that transaction in terms of kin categories seems to be balanced rather than either the higher ranking or lower ranking categories being favored. The only explanation for this is that "balance" is an overriding concern in individual strategies, not only as mentioned for relationships between non-kinsmen but also between kinsmen. This situation of "balance" is not
[597] present in the adoption sample, but certain demographic factors characteristic of Tongan adoption results in a one-way flow of adoptees that still does not conform to the conscious model.

597 Tongans adopt children as young as possible and young adults will be the persons possessing young children. So in cross generation transfers of children, the principal in the youngest of the two generations will be the donating parent rather than the adopting parent. For instance, in the Fa'e-Tama dyad, fa'e would probably be at the end of her childbearing years or beyond her childbearing years. Tama would be a

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in some situations.

Failure to conform to the conscious model of marriage results in strong legal and social sanctions, and this is a good reason for a high degree of conformity between the marriage model and marriage behavior.

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In contrast, the conscious model of kinship reciprocity is not enforced by strong sanctions. It seems that conscious models, of themselves, carry no power or authority over the behavior within their respective activity system, rather sanctions, if present, are imposed from without. Conscious models only tell how something ought to be done; they do not establish and administer the penalty for being wrong.

Some conscious models may not function to order empirical phenomena at all. Rather, they provide a conceptual scheme to which only ideas, and not "facts" an be related. Fit or conformity between a conscious model and behavior can, after all, be determined by observation from different perspectives and levels of reality.

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829]

My Tongan informants thought that exchange between kinsmen proceeded in the manner indicated by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Perhaps the Tongans with their understanding of their own culture are able to "see" that the conscious model is working regardless of the outcome of exchange. Perhaps the conscious model is only supposed to be followed in certain situations which were left unspecified and, therefore, unrecorded.

Possibly a productive way to view conscious models would be to consider them as single components of larger decision-making models. For instance, the Tongan activity system of exchange has a decision-making model which possibly includes the conscious model plus such variables as

121\ relative wealth, friendship status, and religious affiliation of potential exchange partners. Obviously a number of variables could be proposed as possible components of a complete decision-making model, but the construction of such a model is beyond the purview of this study.

All of this discussion is speculative and must remain so, but it is appropriate to reconsider some of the discussion in Chapter I. The results of this study are strong confirmation of Levi-Strauss's statement, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by difinition very poor ones (explanation), since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). It also seems that David Bidney's statement is accurate.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts' but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1955: 218-419).

Summary

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437 Tongan behavior in the activity system of exchange is not predictable by knowledge of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Instead, the basic characteristic of exchange behavior is reliance upon members of one's family of orientation as a continuing unit for resource sharing. The pattern of behavior also indicates that a balance flow of goods exists between kin categories rather than the one-way flow stipulated by the conscious model.

[114] The results of this study are contrary to the statements made about Tongan kinship reciprocity by Beaglehole and Kaeppler (cited above).

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These authors apparently assumed that the conscious model of kinship reciprocity was an accurate summary of exchange behavior. Such a conclusion should only be made after checking the fit between behavior and the model.

121 Conscious models do not necessarily reflect behavior as they may not function to order empirical phenomena but rather establish order at another level of reality. Conscious models order the mind and its perception of the empirical world, not the empirical world itself.

lighted. She walked down the narrow road and saw at the end a burning 159
house inside of which many of her relatives were being burned alive. She asked them if she should open the door to allow them to escape. They called out to her to run away, that she was not wanted. She ran down the road and awoke feeling very frightened.

Ana was then serving as our housegirl. Being a Roman Catholic, she was 159
being educated at a convent, but was home on holiday. She was being courted 154
on the sly by Avai, a second cousin, a member of the Free Church of Tonga. 571
Her mother disapproved of Avai and in any case wished her to marry a Roman [582]
Catholic man only after she had attended school for some years further. Ana was using the privilege of being our housegirl, and thus directly out of her mother's guardianship for most of the day, to arrange occasional meetings with Avai in or about our cookhouse. It was obvious that she found the stolen meetings sweet even though well aware that Avai should carry on his courting, according to Tongan practice, only when a chaperon was present and, preferably, in her mother's house. This conflict is presumably adequate motivation for Ana's dream, the two roads symbolizing her temptation, burning in fire the reward of sinners, and rejection by her relatives symbolizing the manner in which she might have to quarrel with them should she allow the courtship to continue.

I have record of twelve further dreams given to us by informants within 154
the course of a single week, in each of which religious symbolism is plain and 771
usually refers to anxieties over church teaching—the end of the world, punishment of sinners, worries over interdoctrinal differences. These anxieties often [602]
appear to be increased by the fact that the relatives of the dreamer belong to other sects than the dreamer's, and so, to one who takes his religion seriously, intellectual disagreement is heightened by the necessity of believing that one's relatives are indubitably headed straight for an eternal hell fire. Two dreams may be given to illustrate the patterning of this form of emotional conflict over sectarianism.

Case 9.—Dreams of Sigaleti, married man about 58 years old. The dreamer 159
and many of his friends were sitting in a large Tongan house that had two open doorways. Suddenly, a large sheet of fire came rapidly toward the house. A man stood up ordering Sigaleti to leave by one door, his friends by the other. Outside the house Sigaleti saw the flames devouring all his friends.

The second dream: The dreamer saw an angel flying in the sky. In one hand it carried a book, in the other a sword. The angel alighted on the ground. Suddenly, Sigaleti saw a man named Povai (a relative, Roman Catholic) reading from the book, and he heard the words: "There are three men. Two shall live and one shall die." Sigaleti asked for the book, but the angel flew away.

The religious phrasing of both these dreams is clear. Sigaleti is a somewhat 157
morose and dour-looking Tongan. He rarely smiles, wearing instead a look
of patient and absorptive brooding that is uncommon in the Tongan. He took 159
every opportunity to ply us with questions about religious matters, disputes 771
over Christian doctrine and the like. Immediately before he had these dreams, Sigaleti had left the Free Wesleyan Church and had joined the Free Church. The first dream appears to provide obvious justification for the change (a change, incidentally, that provoked much discussion, criticism, and gossip in the village); the second dream suggests that Sigaleti is worrying about the validity of Roman Catholicism. That these interpretations are not purely subjective on my part is supported by the fact that when I outlined them for Sigaleti he confessed quite voluntarily that he wished he could take his mind off religious matters but that he thought of them day and night.

423 182 has been made to increase allotments to the statutory size, because this would have involved the dispossession of many landholders; surveys have therefore simply defined the existing boundaries except where allotments proved to be more than eight and a quarter acres, and most holdings are from three to 423 six acres in size. The typical pattern of land distribution in these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'avakatolo (western Tongatapu) and Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai) in Table 1. In Ha'avaka- [182] tolo (see Figure 1)A on an hereditary estate, land shortage is eased because some men have allotments on near-by estates. Furthermore, since few allotments in Ha'avakatolo have been registered, there has been nothing to prevent some men from acquiring two or even three, with a total area of over eight acres; the head of one household in 1962, for example, had inherited a registered eight-acre allotment from his father, but also held an unregistered three-acre allotment given to him by the estate-holder, although this is contrary to the intention of the law.

423 166 In Ha'afeva the pattern of land distribution is complicated by out-migration. In 1966 no less than forty of the ninety-one persons who held land on the island (some of whom were widows) had moved either temporarily or permanently to other islands. Their land was left in the care of others, and the pattern of 423 [602] land distribution which resulted is shown in Table 2. Land was usually left in the care of relatives, not necessarily those without land of their own. Thus despite the fact that at the beginning of 1966 there were more holdings on Ha'afeva than there were households, nearly twenty per cent of the households still did not have control over an allotment. To what extent Ha'afeva 423 184 is typical of other islands in Ha'apai is difficult to determine. The Governor of Ha'apai estimated in 1964 that about fifteen per cent of tax allotments in the group were held by nonresidents (Tonga 1964:47), but several informants indicated that the pattern on Ha'afeva was similar to that on several other islands in the group.

423 592

Table 2: Land Distribution, Ha'afeva, 1966*

	Percentage distribution of households by acreage of land held or looked after						
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16 and over
Land held	43	10	28	12	7	–	–
Total land held or looked after	19	5	33	27	12	2	2

* Based on a sample of approximately half the households in the village

A[See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

In areas of more moderate population density (about 300-400 423
persons per square mile) the pattern of land distribution on 182
estates which have been fully subdivided is shown in the figures
for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and Ha'ateiho.[A] Here most households [161]
have either eight acres or no land at all, although in Ha'akame
several taxpayers hold twelve-acre allotments and a block of
thirty-three acres is held as a lease by the only man of rank in
the village. Where the population density falls to about 200 [161]
persons per square mile or less the pattern on subdivided estates
is represented by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu
(see Table 1 and Figure 1),[A] where only three per cent of the
households in 1962 were without land. Yet even there about
eighteen per cent of the taxpayers had no land, because one-third
of the registered allotments on the estate were held by people
who lived in other settlements, mostly either in Nuku'alofa or
in other villages in eastern Tongatapu. Where subdivision and
allocation of allotments is not complete the proportion of taxpayers
and households without land is very much higher, as is
shown in the figures for Vaini in central Tongatapu, where in
1962 about one-half of the estate was still in customary holdings.
The recent allocation of allotments has significantly altered the
pattern of land distribution on this estate, but has had little or
no effect on the other villages discussed above.

The significance of this unequal distribution of land between 423
individuals and households needs to be carefully assessed, for 425
the borrowing of land from relatives, friends or estate-holders is
common. It is fairly easy to obtain the use of land for growing [241]
short-term and largely subsistence food crops, even in densely
settled areas, although many men claim that it has become more
difficult in recent years. Where land is borrowed from a relative [427]
often no direct return is made, but when borrowing from others [602]
it is customary to give part of the crop, such as a basket of yams,
to the landholder.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult, 423
and although it would be hard to find a family short of food 425
simply because it could not borrow enough land for gardening,
households without land tend to have significantly lower cash 241
incomes than households with land. Borrowing for cash cropping [434]
particularly has become more difficult over the last two years, [178]
for with the improved market for bananas landholders have
expanded their own plantings and are less willing to lend their
land to others, especially for more than one or two years. In 423
Tongatapu today it is not unusual to find people having to pay 427
for the use of land for cash cropping, although renting without 241

[A] [See Category 423, pp. 109, 117--Analyst.]

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allocated land left for leasing. Consequently land borrowing by 425
those who already have allotments of their own is common, and 182
land use by no means coincides with the tenure of land. Yet
borrowing is not always a satisfactory solution, for the borrower
can seldom obtain land except for a short period and for short-
term crops. While the more enterprising therefore tend to be [311]
hampered by the land tenure system, the lazy are protected, for
at present the government makes no attempt to enforce the pro-
visions in the Land Act requiring landholders to cultivate their
allotments and plant coconuts.

Land borrowing may also restrict the lender's control over the 425
use of his holding for, despite individual tenure, requests from 571
close relatives and friends for the temporary use of land are 602
difficult to refuse, and such requests are not necessarily made [423]
only to those who have land to spare. Social obligations of this
nature also restrict the independence of the farmer in other ways
familiar to the student of the South Pacific. For instance, rela- [241]
tives and friends may request a load of coconuts, a few baskets
of tubers, or cash, and consequently men trying to increase pro-
duction find their efforts hampered. Such obligations continue [178]
to be honoured partly because of tradition, sentiment and the
prestige gained by the giver, but also because they still fulfil [554]
their essential function of ensuring the security of the individual [182]
and his family. Marriages and funerals also involve obligations
of kinship and friendship. A study of the literature on Western 571
Samoa and Fiji, and the comments of Tongans who have lived
in Samoa and Samoans who have lived in Tonga, suggest that 602
the Tongan farmer may be able to achieve a slightly greater 423
degree of independence, without having to contract out of his 182
society, than is the case in the neighbouring territories, and for 241
this the system of landholding is probably largely responsible.
At the same time, however, individual tenure in Tonga has not [171]
produced fully independent farmers, for social obligations still
restrict the individual's control over his land, his time and his
produce.

SOME BENEFITS OF THE SYSTEM

Although various factors have thus restricted the effectiveness of 423
the Tongan land tenure system both as a method of land alloca-
tion and as a basis for land use, it has many good points. It has 182
provided many men with secure, lifetime, individual leaseholds
which can be passed on to their descendants; it has enabled
Tonga to avoid the problems of fragmentation, subdivision and

I have repeatedly said that power and personal rank are 276
'virtually' excluded from the kava ceremony. The qualifying 574
objective needs explanation. Although titles are dominant in 554
the ceremony and are supposed to be seated and served according 565
to their genealogical seniority, there are certain features of the seating and the ceremonial procedure that link the system of titles to the principles of political power and personal rank.

Certain important titles are in an anomalous relation to the 554
present kingship. Two of these titles were originally senior to the 565
title of the present king. A third title had a good claim to the 643
throne at one period. A fourth title, although always junior to the present ruling line, had a remarkably able and ambitious series of incumbents in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One of them broke away from the secular king (the Tu'i Kanokupolu) and became a virtually independent ruler of the northern islands. The power of this particular titleholder, in other words, far outstripped the official political authority of his title. By a series of marriages to aristocratic women, the line increased the personal rank of its incumbents until, in the late nineteenth century, the personal rank of the current incumbent
was considerably higher than that of the King himself. In 276
the royal ceremony at the present time, all four of these titles 574
are seated far away at the back, twenty yards or so behind the outer group (see *Figure 2*). Both their distinctiveness and their anomalous position are thus emphasized. They do not fit in.

There is one event in the ceremonial procedure itself that 574
draws attention to the principle of personal rank. This is the 276
moment when the 'grandchildren of high rank' are called from 602
the outer group to collect the portions of food allocated to the 554
titleholders in the main circle. It is a reminder to all concerned 565
that although the chiefs and nobles hold the titles, they have relatives who are of higher personal rank.

The kava ceremony thus displays the system of titles, with 276
passing references to the two other principles of social differentiation, 574
personal rank and political power. It demonstrates the 554 565

84: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972   OU9 Tonga OU9

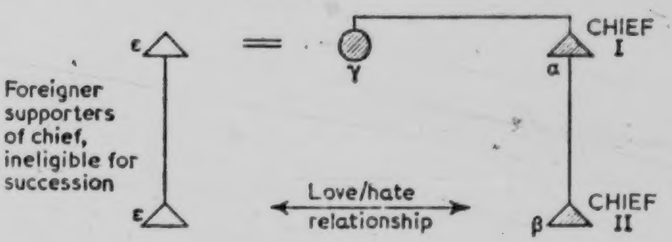
Appendix

EDMUND LEACH

The following supplementary analysis is the result of discussion between the editor and the author. 128

Patrilineal structures of the type represented by the reduced model shown in *Figure I* are quite familiar and have been extensively discussed in a polemical body of literature that emphasizes, as a rule, the ambiguous relationship between ε and his mother's brother α. In a society that stresses the theme of perpetual succession the relationship between the structural cross-cousins (β/ε) is interchangeable with that of mother's brother/sister's son (α/ε). Much of the argument deployed in Radcliffe-Brown (1924) and connected literature, as cited in Goody (1969), could be relevant to the Tongan case, and indeed Tonga features in that literature (cf. Goody, 1969, p. 81). 602 604 171

Figure I



[565
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A comparable matrilineal structure is that made famous by Malinowski's discussion of the relation between the Trobriand chief and his sons and heirs. It can be represented by *Figure II.*

[p. 283]

84: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972   OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure II

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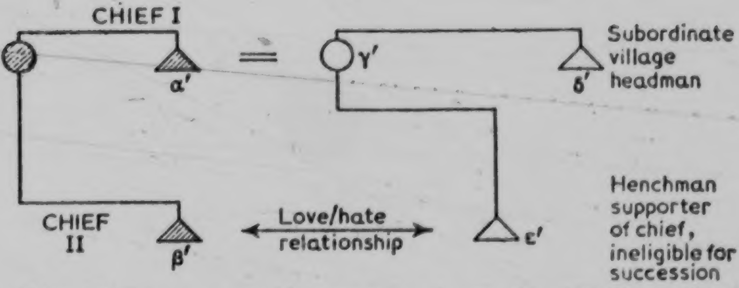
CHIEF I
α′
γ′
δ′
Subordinate village headman
CHIEF II
β′
Love/hate relationship
ε′
Henchman supporter of chief, ineligible for succession

The Tongan structure corresponds to that of *Figure I* but with the special characteristic that, because γ has explicitly higher personal rank than α, ϵ may be of higher personal rank than β, even though β is politically superior.

[565] [607] The relationship between the titles of β and ϵ is that of chief to matāpule. The base meaning of the term matāpule is 'sister's husband' (see note 2, p. 274). Thus the terminology corresponds to ϵ/α in *Figure I*. But, in the mythology and in the kava ceremonial, the relationship between β and ϵ is that of 'half-brother through a common mother'. If we apply this equivocation to *Figure I*, then it is at once apparent that the common mother must be γ, which is precisely the outcome of the full-scale analysis, which is developed around text *Figure 3* (p. 261).[1]

[276] [574] [554] In assessing the relationship between this analysis and that advanced by Goody with regard to the Tongan institution of *fahu*, the reader should bear in mind that, in the case of kava ceremonial, the relationships are those of the titles and not those of actual individuals. The claims of ϵ against β are strictly mythological and it cannot possibly be argued that 'the exclusion of the sister's children from succession is in flagrant contradiction to their claims in property' (Goody, 1969, p. 81).

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GOODY, J. R. 1969. The Mother's Brother and the Sister's Son in West Africa. In *Comparative Studies in Kinship*. London: Routledge.

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[1] /See 82: Leach -- Analyst/

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succession was just as appropriate and permanent as eldest son succession, 428
manifesting the pre-Constitutional tension between the two alternative kin 423
positions that were both common successors to titles of deceased holders. 565

Through a set of ordered priorities the succession law defines a discrete 671
and exclusive kin position to hold hereditary lands and titled honour associated
with them. This formalization of customary succession had important effects on 565
relationships within the kin groups of noble title-holders. The exclusive 641
definition of the nobility in terms of individuals created a basic ambiguity and
tension within modern noble families regarding the limits of the distribution 428
of noble titles as a resource among kinsmen both in terms of chiefly honour and 178
wealth. Presumably, in pre-Constitutional Tonga, titles were held by individuals 602
according to customary rules of succession similar to the present laws, but it 671
was chiefly honour and leadership responsibility, not primarily land as such, [423]
that was the 'thing' held and transmitted. Furthermore, chiefly honour was
clearly a kin group resource, merely focussed or represented in the title. The (611)
final arbiter of succession, given customary patrilineal practice, was some
process of decision-making among the kin group members. The institution of
strict legal procedures governing succession removed the final determination of
succession from within the chiefly kindred as well as made problematic the
extent to which noble status could be claimed beyond the legally determined
title-holder and his heir.

NOBLE TITLE SUCCESSION DISPUTES

The Context and Conditions of Succession Disputes 671

In line with the positive, if not enthusiastic, moves toward modernization, 178
embodied in the nineteenth-century reforms, Tongan law makes no mention of or 565
allowance for customary practices (except in one case which will be discussed
below). In a sense, law as the vehicle of transformation was intended to be a
virtual replacement for customary practices. Thus surviving customary practice
has a shadowy existence outside the law without explicit indications as to
what the orientation of law toward surviving custom should be. The status of 671
Tongan law in relation to custom is in marked contrast, for example, to the 171
situation in neighbouring Western Samoa. There, the orientation of law to
custom, especially chiefly custom, is explicit: custom is neither defined nor 565
codified but is is clearly provided for as the standard governing certain practices.
For example, the Land and Titles Court in Western Samoa is a constitutionally
sanctioned but customary institution through which disputes to chiefly titles
and lands (the *matai* system) are adjudicated according to interpretation of
uncodified customary practice.

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In Tonga, disputes concerning lands and titles are the area of law most 423
likely to raise issues of customary practice. However, since the present land 428

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strategy of considering all arguments and making careful investigations before 565
appointing successors to titles. Rather than trying to modify the legal process 643
in minimizing the occurrence of succession cases, the King apparently has 428
attempted to make formal litigation superfluous. With formal legal qualifications,
the King is capable of accurately evaluating the possible legal consequences [691]
of his appointments. In sum, the unrestrained prerogative of the monarch in
appointing noble titles, lost by Queen Sālote in the 1920's, has been partially
recovered through the apparent, sophisticated strategy of appointment by her son
and successor, Tupou IV.

Relationships Within Noble Kin Groups

If the ideals of *'ofa* ("love", "empathy" — See Kavaliku, 1961) and kin- 565
ship amity within Tongan kin groups are as strong in practice as they are 428
ideologically, one might wonder why questions of succession ever surfaced to 691
public view in the form of court litigation, rather than being resolved by some
informal process of dispute resolution within the kin group concerned. One [577]
answer which deserves serious consideration is that litigation was not motivated [602]
by the claimants at all in most cases, but by the few Tongan lawyers who [693]
pioneered and specialized in arguing for or against succession claims.

The indigenous lawyers form an interesting sub-group in Tongan society, 693
numbering between 20 and 30, and typify the most successful and achievement-
oriented commoners in the decades before 1960, when few Tongans had yet been 184
abroad for training, other than secondary education.[18] The typical Tongan 693
lawyer before the 1960's had come from a village community, usually excelled
in a church or government school and/or in government service, and had passed,
through self-study, a local examination given by the European Chief Justice,
which qualified him to practise law. Often, the indigenous attorneys farmed
their tax allotments as all other Tongans ideally did, as well as practised law.
Typically, they could look forward to short or long term participation by election
in the Legislative Assembly.

As the only western-styled politicians in a society with no political parties 693
or grass-roots feeling for individual articulation of political opinion, the Tongan 571
lawyers occupy an important position in Tongan social organization. On one
hand, they court the favour of the monarch and office-holding aristocrats in 693
order to ensure continued success in their profession, and as such they have
often served as brokers or middle-men between the monarch and the mass of 571
the population with reference to the interpretation and explanation of government 565
and legal matters. On the other hand, the lawyers as advocates in the legal 643
[662]

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[18] There are still very few overseas trained Tongan lawyers, and none in private
practice in Tonga. The three overseas qualified lawyers in Tonga are within the government [874]
(the King, the Secretary to Government, and the Crown solicitor — there are also an
expatriate Crown Prosecutor and Chief Justice). Although a number of Tongans are in legal
training abroad, few will apparently complete their studies, and of this number, it is
uncertain how many will return to Tonga to practice.

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571 process have on occasion been in a position to challenge (if ever so tactfully)
[565] the privileges of the monarch and nobles. As a group, they typify a western-
[643] styled sense of individual enterprise that has developed along with the legal
and other institutions of the compromise culture.

693 The formation of the Land Court was seen perhaps as a new source of
legal enterprise by the lawyers. The development of succession claims by
691 lawyers might be seen in addition as an indirect challenge to the monarch (in
[565] her privilege to appoint titles) and to the nobles. The underlying message of the
[643] early cases was that the noble title-holding lines were not necessarily the most
693 exclusive and legitimate chiefly segment of the population, but that there were
among the commoners those who had as good, if not better, chiefly claims
565 according to the law than the holding lines. Never stated so boldly or explicitly,
428 the initial claims developed by lawyers at the time in effect served to blur the
lines of privilege between commoners and mere title-holding (as opposed to
sino'i 'eiki) nobility. There was one lawyer in particular who pioneered the
first cases: he argued the first two claims considered by Land Court, that of
Vakalā (he was also the attorney for the claimant in the later case) and that
of Manai'a, in which he argued (unsuccessfully) the claim of his own son
who was a minor at the time.

693 Eventually, four lawyers in particular became noted for their skill in
691 handling succession cases. It must be understood that these lawyers as often
served the defendant as the plaintiff in title disputes, the litigation of which
565 was very lucrative in attorney fees. It is not surprising then that a number of
428 cases were independently researched (in terms of genealogies) by the lawyers,
[694] who in turn approached a sometimes unaware or indifferent potential claimant
and persuaded him to place a formal claim. I was frequently told that the
lawyers rather than the claimants concerned were primarily responsible for
succession case litigation.

I investigated the backgrounds of three cases where the lawyer was very likely the main impetus for claims being pressed, and I analyzed a number of the other cases where at least the genealogical knowledge underlying the
claim as well as the direct strategy of argument originated with the plaintiff's
[602] lawyer rather than the plaintiff himself. The fact that an ideology of kinship
[578] amity and *'ofa* normally tends to suppress the direct expression of conflict within
kin groups,[14] and that the outcome of a succession dispute only occasionally

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[627] [14] Unless intoxicated, kinsmen in dispute usually avoid each other indefinitely or else consult some relative to mediate a resolution of the dispute, usually through one party asking the forgiveness of the other (called *fakamolemole*, literally 'to make smooth'), rather than precipitate a confrontation. In this sense, court litigation is clearly not a surrogate for third-party dispute resolution within the kin group, where the concept of an adversary has no place. Rather, court litigation is a forum for direct confrontation between two opposing claims, contrasted in the western adversary style of legal presentation and adjudication of a dispute.

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caused a continuing, open rift between the winner and loser factions within a 565
chiefly kin group, lend support to the belief that succession litigation would not 428
have arisen at all if it had not been for the efforts of lawyers. [578]

On the other hand, there are enough examples of court cases that were [602]
clearly initiated as a result of the strong independent motivation of the claimant
or claimant faction that an explanation of these cases as solely the result of
attorney enterprise cannot be accepted. For example, both Y and Z (and their 691
kin supporters) in the Vakalā cases were anxious to reclaim the title that they
considered theirs, but which had been repeatedly appointed by the monarchs 565
within the original descent line. There is also evidence that the claim against 428
the Kalaniuvalu title was undertaken independently and with keen anticipation
by the plaintiff. It is reasonable to assume that once succession litigation
became a "possibility" as demonstrated in the early Land Court cases, potential
claimants or their families actively looked for past ties on the basis of which
they could initiate litigation.

A legal definition of succession has intruded within chiefly kin groups, 565
creating sharply defined lines of contention for an individually allocated prize 428
of honour and material resources in the form of a title and estates. The succession
cases reflect a competition for chiefly honour and resources within chiefly 613
patrilines between the title-holding line and its close and distant kinsmen, both 602
organized in economically self-sufficient nuclear family units. A non-title-holding member of a title-holding patriline, with a legal claim to the title no matter how many generations back, would enjoy little of the title-holder's honour and resources, but could literally turn his social position upside down by pressing and winning a title claim. Certain conditions in the social background of the succession disputes, namely, the alienation of kinsmen within a chiefly patriline from the honour and resources of a title-holding family and the clearcut all-or-nothing opportunity to reverse one's social standing, did not exist to the same extent in pre-Constitution Tonga.

These seemingly opposite views concerning the motivation for undertaking 565
public succession litigation — that all is well traditionally among kinsmen and 428
the title cases are externally stimulated by lawyers, or that the cases reflect
fundamental changes in the way that honour and resources are shared among a 613
universe of mutually recognized kinsmen — are both true to some extent in 602
every case, and in some cases, one view appears to be more applicable than the 691
other. An overall evaluation of these views should perhaps be based on a categorization of the succession cases in terms of the degree of kin-relatedness between the disputing parties at the time of litigation (see Fig. 3): (1) there are those cases which involve individuals from two seemingly unrelated patrilines (these include the cases raised by the irregular appointments of Tupou I, such as Vakalā, Ivilahi, and Puakafo'ou); (2) there are those which involve individuals

565 with mutual connections in the same patriline, but their connecting genealogical
428 linkage is either matrilineal or so distant in the past that the sense of ongoing
613 patrilineal linkage between them is weak (for example, the Manai'a and
Kalaniuvalu cases); and (3) there are those cases which involve individuals who
602 are of the same patriline, connected by close, relatively recent genealogical
691 linkage, and who frequently interact, but are probably not mutually involved in
a family estate, consisting of a set of kinsmen among whom resources are
effectively shared (for example, the Kaila'ā case).

(1) As evidenced by the Vakalā cases, distinct faction formation
accompanies succession litigation, undertaken with little need for independent
565 encouragement by attorneys. Although the lines of X and the original Vakalā
descent group were reputedly linked in the pre-Constitutional era by an adoption
428 tie, since the Constitution, the descendants of X and the line of A-D have
613 considered themselves unrelated. Consequently, the stakes of competition for the
title have been high, especially for the descendants of X, who were so clearly
602 unfavoured by the monarch. The early victory of Y gave him, and to some
extent his kin group, at least the entitled respects of formal noble status as
well as the Vakalā estates. The unsuccessful claim by his son Z deprived the
565 latter and his family group of these advantages. By the time of Z's litigation,
the blood of the X line was generally considered very low. That is, successive
428 title-holders (X and Y) had married women of no chiefly status and had in turn
613 produced heirs of relatively little chiefly status (like Z). On the other hand, the
602 successors in the original descent line had made relatively good chiefly marriages,
554 and the mother of the present holder was an aristocrat. D himself had married
[581] down (twice) to women of no chiefly consequence. At the time of the 1957-1960
case, Z, urged on by his kin supporters, as the representative of a regional Vava'u
line once rewarded for its warrior courage, but now without reputation, chiefly
respectability, or kingly favour, challenged D, who had been raised among and
mainly associated with his aristocratic mother's kinsmen, resident in and near
565 the court and capital. The outcomes of litigation would either totally exclude
428 the challenging line of X from chiefly status or alternatively would incorporate
them within the sphere of formal noble status. The Vakalā cases demonstrate
613 how important the chiefly status derived through females (i.e., D's maternal
602 connections) can be in defining the scene for and ultimately influencing the
[691] litigation which is based on a law that does not formally recognize one's
matrilineally determined chiefly status (see footnote 8).^

Perhaps the most dramatic and bitter in occurrence, the Vakalā cases are
a paradigm for disputes where kin relatedness is minimal. The Ivilahi case is
similar in origin to that of Vakalā, but different in outcome: the present holder
derives from a line not originally associated with the Ivilahi title in the pre-
[691] Constitutional era. Although in the correct genealogical position to claim the
title in 1937, the present holder did not appear to have the initiative or

^[See Category 565, p. 227--Analyst.]

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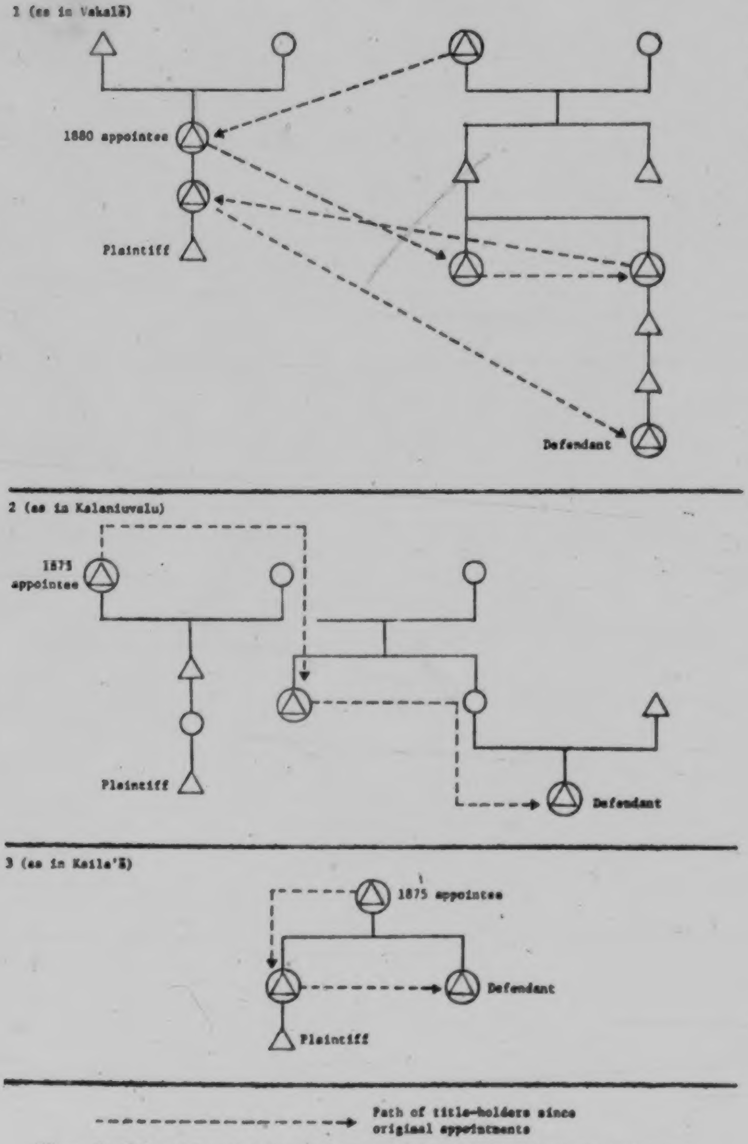
1 (as in Vakalā)
1880 appointee
Plaintiff
Defendant
2 (as in Kalaniuvalu)
1875 appointee
Plaintiff
Defendant
3 (as in Kaila'ā)
1875 appointee
Defendant
Plaintiff
Path of title-holders since original appointments

Figure 3—Schematic examples of degrees of kin relatedness between contestants in title succession disputes.

565 428 613 602 [691] genealogical knowledge himself to commence litigation. Rather, a kinsman of his, prominent in the region of origin of the title, developed his case and urged him to claim. He won the claim and title. His competitors, supposedly of the original descent line, have been unable to attempt to reclaim the title in court because of the law of limitation of action. Although the sense of kinship between the contesting parties is very weak, it has been the strategy of the present title-holding line to claim some generalized kinship linkage with members of the contesting line, which the latter have chosen not to recognize.

[691] Some of the cases arising from the irregular appointments of Tupou I, then, constitute one extreme of kin relatedness in succession disputes where the contesting parties are linked by no or very weak recognized ties of kinship, are organized into distinct factions, and are highly self-motivated to claim or defend the title.

565 428 613 602 611 (2) A number of cases concerned descendant branches of the same patriline, varying in degrees of distance both genealogically and in terms of ongoing social contact. Disputes were most sharply factionalized where either both or one of the contestants determined a claim through a female link. This form of reckoning frequently occurred, since title-holders often failed to produce legitimate male heirs. For example, at least six present holders derive their titles through their mothers or father's mothers (e.g., Kalaniuvalu). A dispute might arise, as in the Kalaniuvalu case, where a line had been bypassed, for whatever reason, in succession, and a female of this line later had a male child who could qualify as a "legitimate male heir".

When a plaintiff reckoned his claim through his mother, then, as expected, he would be supported by his father's people, who would not share directly in the title honour, but would undoubtedly enjoy partial or complete control over the title-related resources (the estates). Thus, claims derived through female links tended to encourage factionalized confrontation, if only because the interests of a separate patriline, that of the claimant's or defendant's father, were involved.

Weakly articulated to a concept of patrilineality through a mutually recognized, generations-old tie, succession dispute factions were composed of discrete family units, in turn comprising individuals who would be close enough to the claimant or defendant (in terms of genealogy and/or ongoing social interactions and exchanges) to share effectively in his honour or resources should he hold the title. 565 428 613 602 The presumed effectiveness of traditional ideologies of kinship amity and rank in subduing or mediating competition and status rivalry among an inclusive category of mutually recognized kin is manifestly limited in such succession disputes. Rather, family units of greatly varying fortunes within the chiefly patriline confront each other in court for a prize of honour and wealth that is allocated by law to an individual rather than diffused among a network of kinsmen associated with the title.

Sometimes, cases in this category were clearly stimulated by lawyers who actively located claimants, but more often, they were independently initiated by the competing family factions themselves, although lawyers were often instrumental in researching genealogies and developing legal arguments. 565 428 602 [613] [691] [693]

The stakes in cases of this category are not as high as those in the first category: having lost their formal claims, plaintiffs can still continue to press informally their chiefly status with salience. After all, there is often a clear linkage to the title-holding line, even if the claim fails. The Mana'ia case is one in which the losing claimant has continued to be respected by the people on the estates of the title as of equal, if not greater, status than the actual title-holder, even though the loser has scrupulously observed formal respect behaviour toward title-holders in the winning line.[15] [554]

Nonetheless, the appearance of public cases is in itself an important indication that chiefly status is no longer effectively shared, however unevenly, among a widespread network of kinsmen. Rather, unsatisfied with the prestige of being higher in kinship rank than the title-holder or of being able to "bask in the light" of title honour (which are sources of prestige that are to a considerable extent controlled in allocation by the title-holder himself), a person with a potential legal claim will actively undertake a case. In addition, it is not only a greater share of title or chiefly honour that is at stake, but also control of the potential wealth that is associated with titles in the form of estates. 565 554 602 691 [556] [428]

Significantly in contrast to the succession cases that have been publicly argued (all but one of which concerned gentry titles), a number of cases about which legal claims have been rumoured, but have never been litigated, concern aristocratically held titles. This fact suggests that the fundamental basis of chiefly status within the aristocratic patri-kin group is still the *sino'i 'eiki* criterion, independent of the title and estates associated with it. Being of *sino'i 'eiki* status effectively compensates a potential claimant line for not holding the title or trying to gain it. Under certain conditions, the potential claimant gains more prestige by letting the title with which he was associated be held by a more prestigious blood line. In the case of 'Akau, the present holder 565 554 613 602 428 [691]

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[15] In the Mama'ia case, the losing claimant is the eldest son of the attorney who pioneered the succession cases. He lives on the main estate of Mana'ia and is revered informally as a chief by the people of the estate. However, this man was well-educated abroad, holds an important bureaucratic post, and exhibits the life-style of a western middle-class commoner elite. His situation is a complex example of how an interest in claiming chiefly status locally (on Mana'ia's estate) is combined with a societal reputation as a commoner who has achieved status through education and government service. The dualism in his social identities partially derives from the blurring of the formal boundaries between noble and commoner in his father's attempt through litigation to transfer to him the Mana'ia title and estates. It is interesting to contrast the situation of the loser in the Mana'ia case with the loser, Z, in the Vakalā case. In the former case, the outcome did not negatively influence the loser's future development and social standing (which, as the prominent lawyer's son, did not hinge on winning the title); in the latter case, the failure of Z to win the title was devastating to his social standing, based previously on the prestige of his father's, Y's,, position.

565
554 has succeeded to his title through his mother, but he is *sino'i 'eiki* through his
613 father. There is a reputedly more legally appropriate holder among 'Akau's
602 mother's people, who has never pressed his claim. Admittedly, it is ambiguous
whether the potential claimant himself saw the advantage of not claiming or
428 whether he was persuaded not to.

In sum, at least among gentry titles, succession cases between extended or distantly related kinsmen reveal that norms of kinship rank and amity have not been effective in suppressing the expression of kin group competition for title honour and resources. This competition had been shaped by the nineteenth-century reforms of Tupou I and the imposition of a strict, individualistic succession law, but had not surfaced in public confrontation until the legal machinery had belatedly appeared to deal with the conflicts generated by the earlier reforms.

565 (3) One would expect instances of succession disputes within very narrow
428 ranges of kin-relatedness to be rare, and in fact they are. Those that have
602 occurred are a result of the long-term social isolation and lack of ongoing
interaction between individuals who are genealogically closely related. For
example, the present Kaila'ā, as a minor, was raised by his mother's people and
only later returned to his father's village to claim his title from his paternal uncle
who had been holding the title ambiguously (as trustee or permanent successor)
565 on the appointment of Tupou II. Such cases are rare, not necessarily because
the norms of kinship rank and amity operate more efficiently within narrower
428 ranges of relationship, but merely because the probability of ambiguities in the
602 rules of succession and consequently of arguable claims is much less within the
554 direct line or within one degree of collaterality. The individualization of title
honour and resources, and the corresponding competition for access to them
[596] are expressed within the immediate extended family of the title-holder (i.e., his
own full and half siblings as well as his father's full and half siblings), not by
succession disputes, but through more subtle competition in assuming chiefly
styles and controlling intra-familial decision-making processes, as typically in
the case of a young title-holder and his father's brother.

Thus, the absence of formal succession disputes among close family kin
does not indicate the absence of the same roots of competition that are revealed
[596] in the second category of disputes. Close kinsmen who might informally compete
with a title-holder or claimant for chiefly status and leadership within an
[613] extended family or family estate group will certainly support him in a succession
dispute with a more distant branch of a mutually recognized patriline or with
an altogether unrelated faction. This sort of segmentary opposition by levels
of competition or dispute was evident in both the Ivilahi and Vakalā cases. In
both cases, individuals were supported in litigation (as a plaintiff in the Ivilahi
case and as a defendant in the Vakalā case) by kinsmen who otherwise were

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themselves in informal competition with these individuals for the exercise of 428
leadership within the narrow chiefly family and sometimes for control of 602
chiefly authority over the estates associated with the title. [554]

The cases that have occurred within a narrow range of relationship are
not characterized by sharp persisting factionalism, but rather by a short-lived [596]
confrontation, after which any further competition dissolves into or continues [626]
at a more informal, subtle level (publicly articulated only in casual rumour
and gossip), within the immediate extended family of the title-holder.

An overall assessment from the three types of cases, based on kin 565
relatedness, is that although the role of the lawyer has been crucial in arguing 428
cases and occasionally in motivating them, the appearance of succession cases 602
is more significantly related to the internal reorganization of chiefly kin groups, 691
generally through the levelling reforms of the nineteenth century (in the 178
creation of discrete, economically self-sufficient nuclear family units and
specifically through the structure and implementation of the legal definition of 694
the nobility. Although competition for chiefly status is clearly evident among 565
kin group members, the continuing overt bitterness between the winners and 428
losers is remarkably short-lived after a court confrontation and resolution in all 578
three categories of succession cases.[16] 602

In contrast to this characteristic, apparent forgiveness among parties in 565
dispute over succession to titles and estates is the long persisting open bitterness
that follows disputes between two title-holding lines over a piece of land, 423
claimed as part of their respective estates (see Hunter, 1963, for reports of 602
such cases). Perhaps the difference is that there is nothing to be gained and 428
much to be lost by persistently and openly bemoaning a claim to a title that 578
has been lost, but that a loss of a piece of land, traditionally associated with
one title, to another title line is a serious affront to the honour of the losing title
and can be a considerable drain on the resources of the holding line.

Although a good deal of ill-feeling may persist in a line that has lost a 565
title or claim, it is a disadvantageous strategy to voice it or let it surface. Not 428
only would one be accused of blatantly disrupting peace (*melino*) in the kindred 602
(which is an explicit value in Tongan kinship, and disruption of which is the 578
basis of criticism to which a person is already vulnerable if he has precipitated 554

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[16] Although the Vakalā cases were perhaps the bitterest of succession disputes as well as the manifestly longest lived, reoccurring as litigation twice in successive generations, the present relations between the loser, Z, and the title-holder, D, are not at all strained or embarrassed when they meet on social occasions. It is probably true, however, that they avoid each other as much as possible. Likewise, while I was living in Kaila'ā's household, the son of the man whom Kaila'ā defeated to gain his title came to visit and live within Kaila'ā's home for several weeks. The occurrence of a succession dispute between Kaila'ā and the visitor's father had no apparent influence on their present relations. In fact, the visitor was quite willing to discuss the succession dispute in the presence of the noble without any sense of embarrassment or bitterness. The conflict was seen in retrospect as an impersonal, ephemeral matter.

565 litigation and thus confrontation), but also a loser might be dependent on the
428 good will of the winner of a dispute in order to enjoy residual claims to
602 association with chiefly status or even to share in resources that the title-holder
578 controls.[17] Whatever personal feelings might be, it is advantageous in terms
[554] of prestige for both sides to act conciliatory, if not to ignore, their previous
confrontation in order to make the whole legal process look as impersonal as
possible after the fact. But given the basic importance of the family unit in
modern Tonga, the competition for status and resources among family com-
ponents of a chiefly kindred continues by other, more subtle processes of gossip
[691] and situational oneupsmanship. Although court litigation is an embarrassing,
ideologically unacceptable aberration of what intra-kin group relations should
be, it is still a striking representation of the ongoing competition which is
characteristic of modern gentry title-holding kin groups as well as family
relations within most commoner kin groups.

The Status of the Nobility in Contemporary Tongan Society

565 One might assume that the outcomes of specific succession disputes them-
554 selves could lower the formal esteem in which some nobles are generally held,
428 but this is not so. An individual who wins a title is given the same formal
respects as the previous holder who has lost it, but these are the respects vested
in a noble title-holding office, as opposed to a title-holder himself. As mentioned,
[643] the Queen offset the outcomes of succession disputes by continuing to favour
those whom she considered of the most appropriate holding lines, even if they
[641] had lost in litigation. Furthermore, the succession disputes have been almost
wholly an affair of the gentry nobility. There was unusually great public
interest in the one aristocratic title case, Kalaniuvalu. As it turned out, the
[643] aristocratic holding line retained the title. Thus, legally disputed title succession
never threatened, except once, to alter the status of an aristocratic title, nor did
those, respected for aristocratic connections through marriage or who enjoyed
the favour of the monarch, lose such respect or favour if they lost a title.

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[423] [17] At the time of the second Vakalā case (1957-1960), the Queen's appointee D tried to pressure his opponent Z and his family by threatening to repossess the tax allotments of Z's brother and uncle, which had not yet been formally registered under the law. Z's attorney got an injunction to stop such seizures. After the Privy Council decision against Z, the nastiness that had characterized the relations of the contesting parties must have overtly subsided into some form of mutual conciliation, since the lands held by members of Z's family and threatened with repossession during the dispute are still held by them; their tenure within Z's family group is apparently secure (although the holdings are still not formally and legally registered). Overt acceptance of and submission to D's position was the price paid by Z and his family for continued, untroubled holding of their family lands as ordinary commoners, while such submission was the advantage gained by D in his conciliatory attitude. Given current land scarcity, Z and his brothers are relatively well-off as land-holders in Motu, the estate of Vakalā, because they control three tax allotments. This is in contrast to their relatively low social standing in the community: Z in particular is without chiefly status or reputation, has no wife, children, or stable residence, and is generally denigrated for his occasional displays of 'uppity' behaviour.

Tongans often spoke to me of the succession disputes as being *fakamā* 565
("shameful" or "embarrassing"), but this feeling concerned the public airing of 428
intra-kin group disputes, rather than behaviour specifically unbecoming nobles 829
as such. The implication from such popular response to title cases is that they had become generally conceptualized just as Queen Sālote had apparently feared they would: primarily as disputes among otherwise ordinary people for the possession of chiefly resources in the form of landed wealth and honour embodied
in titled office. Perhaps most clearly the succession cases illustrate the disjunction 565
between chiefliness as formally defined, title-vested privilege and chiefliness as 428
an exclusive attribute of either kingly blood descent, kingly favour, or direct
descent from pre-Constitutional chiefly lines, vested in individuals. Although 554
aristocratic blood and title honour overlap on one extreme, the outcomes of certain succession cases reveal the completely pedestrian nature of mere title-holding, on the other, where a person, who possesses neither current blood *'eiki*-ness nor is in the traditional direct line of succession, has gained access through litigation to a title and enjoys the privileges and respects of a title-holder.

The noble title system is a set of offices with defined privileges that 565
represent a chiefly heritage in support of the Tupou dynasty, which may or may 428
not be all occupied at any point of time by the appropriate traditional title-holding lines. In theory, it is appropriate for anyone, who legally qualifies, to [641]
be a noble, however his social standing may have declined in post-1875 Tongan [554]
society. Although certainly not open to broad segments of the population, access to the nobility, as has been publicly demonstrated in court, is not all that exclusive either.

Still, despite such demonstrations, the majority of gentry titles are held by lines that have been in continuous possession of them from the
pre-Constitutional period. But even within these chiefly kin groups, succession 565
cases reveal the same sorts of striving, competition, and cooperation among 428
discrete family units that are also the social processes within all other, presumably
commoner, kin groups in modern Tonga. The chiefly kin groups differ only in 602
that they can compete for or share in specially defined resources (title-office and 593
associated estates) from which others are excluded. In the modern context,
noble title-holding only rarely entails active leadership of groups of people. 565
Outside leadership in ritual or ceremonial contexts, the regional and local chiefs [178]
have been supplanted by a bureaucratic state and church organization. Thus, possessing a noble title and estates is a matter of enjoying a personal (and to some extent family kin group) resource rather than accepting administrative responsibilities.

What succession disputes have revealed most broadly, then, is that the 565
defined sector of privilege in the new order — the nobility — has been ringed on 571
all sides and thoroughly infiltrated by the socially levelling and individualizing 178
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361 one-eighth to 15 acres instead of the customary town and
659 bush allotment. The scheme has met with only moderate
423 success.

361 The shift from dispersed to nucleated settlement has
178 led to the transfer of many fruit trees and other specialty
241 crops, such as medicinal herbs, kava, and sugar cane, to the
dooryard gardens on the town allotments.

563 Ethnic Composition

Tonga, unlike most Pacific Island areas, has never had
[162] a large Asian or other foreign component. Census figures
show the Tongan component representing over 98 percent of
the total population and over 97 percent of the population
[423] on Tongatapu (Table 8). A few non-Tongans have leasehold
rights to land, but only Tongans have the legal right to
tenure on the traditional town and bush allotments to which
this study is directed.

162 Age-Sex Structure

[464] Like most countries with high population growth rates,
the Tongan population has a very high proportion of young
people, many of whom are not gainfully employed. In 1966,
60 percent of the population was under 21, slightly more
000 than in 1956. As these people begin families and look for
employment either as farmers or wage earners, more pressure
will come to bear on the present agricultural system.

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Social Structure

183 Tongan social structure is permeated by countless

563 162 **Table 8. Ethnic components of Tonga and Tongatapu (1966 only) population; and the relative increase.**

	1939	1956	1966		Tonga
	Tonga	Tonga	Tongatapu	Tonga	1939-1966
	Pop.	Pop.	Pop.	Pop.	% increase
Tongans	32,862	55,156	46,818	76,121	+132
Europeans	400	277	364	402	+ 1
Part-Europeans	441	604	423	512	+ 16
All Others	427	801	315	394	- 8
TOTAL	34,130	56,838	47,920	77,429	-

Sources: Toupouniua, 1958:42; Fiefia, 1968:37-42.

571 602 183 social and kinship relationships and institutionalized procedures, which, if not fulfilled or adhered to, in the strictest Tongan sense, can result in loss of prestige, favor, or effectiveness within one's social or economic sphere. By fulfilling one's social obligations, or as Tongans say, by being faka-Tonga (of Tongan nature), an individual keeps on good terms with his family, his village, his pastor, the traditional ruling class, and the rest of the community group. 571 602 476 Consequently when he needs assistance in the form of labor, money, food for ceremonial occasions, or even land, if he has been faka-Tonga, other parties will be willing to fulfill their obligations to him. These social relationships are particularly important in Tonga,

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602 where European institutions such as life insurance, work-
476 man's compensation, social security, and freehold land are
not available.

571 Although the primary function of the agricultural
602 system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday sub-
[434] sistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes
[182] on major importance, is to provide the owner with products
to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling
his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the
[431] society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods
[437] and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or present-
ations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats,
tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the
128 predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to
gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship
with the agricultural system, a brief description and
analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society
is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two
general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The follow-
ing treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the
author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927),
Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude
(1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971),
and Morton (1972).

601 Kinship Ties

612 The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

601 red are *kainga* and *famili*. The term *famili* seems to be a
612 more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties,
whereas *kainga*, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

● 602 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative
592 on two levels: within the household and within the broader
612 extended family or *kainga*. The Tongan household, generally
592 referred to as an '*api* (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of
591 individuals working, eating,and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 In the past, most households were composed of extended
[596] families; however, at present the trend is more toward nu-
[594] [178] clear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9
612 persons. The larger unit, the *kainga*, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who
[602] reside in other households, villages,or island groups. The
[184] size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

612 602 184 within the group, depend primarily on the individual's knowledge of his consanguineal relatives and their whereabouts (Morton, 1972).

602 593 554 The eldest sibling of a given sex is of highest rank; among siblings, a female is of higher rank than the male; and in marriage, the man's kinsmen are of a higher rank than the woman's kinsmen. As a result, brothers and their children are of inferior rank to their sisters and their children. Likewise, children in any marriage are inferior to their father's kinsmen and superior to their mother's kinsmen.

The consequences of rank become more obvious when viewed in its traditional context. Traditionally, anyone of higher rank had rights to the property of kinsmen of inferior rank, both on the household and kainga levels. For example, a man's sister's children, referred to as 'ilamutu are all fahu (above the law) to him. The fahu can take any of the man's possessions and he is expected to make ceremonial presentations to his fahu (Kaeppler, 1971:188).

Similarily, the children can demand food or other material possessions from their other maternal kinsmen, but they must show respect toward and provide for their paternal kinsmen. All of these relationships between kinsmen, which are established by either birth or marriage, are similar for each person in the Tongan society. Every Tongan has inferior kinsmen and superior kinsmen, the relationships with whom are all unilateral. Although the female is superior in rank [562]

602 to her male siblings, in matters pertaining to leadership
593 and inheritance, males generally take precedence. Accord-
554 ingly, the head of the household is generally the oldest
562 [612] male and is referred to as the *tangata* *'eiki* (chiefly man),
[592] and the highest ranking member of the larger kin group,
kainga or *famili*, is generally the oldest male in the senior male line and is referred to as the *'ulumotu'a* (the elderly head) or sometimes the *ulu'ifamili* (head of the family). In some cases, however, the oldest sister, because of her superior rank, will be regarded as the *ulu'motu'a* or *ulu' - ifamili*.

428 In cases of inheritance, however, the right of primogeniture within the patrilineal group prevails. For example, if a man dies, his eldest son or sometimes his younger brother will inherit his title, land, and other possessions A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers and, in effect, inherits from his mother's father.
602 This system of kinship ties establishes a network of inter-
612 relationships which governs a person's social behavior with-
in the *kainga* thoughout his lifetime.

602 Among kinsmen, these ties still provide the main basis
437 for redistribution and exchange of products from the tradi-
602 tional agricultural system. On the household level, these
592 ties are operative on a day-to-day basis. Among the larger
[612] kin group, however, the *kainga*, the position of *'ulumotu'a* is
[178] more ceremonial than it was in the past. Since the Consti-

602 tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater importance
612 than the *kainga* with respect to land tenure and economic
178 activity. Weakening of the *kainga* has also been
[592] brought about by European contact and increased focus on
[554] individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and
[177] education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for
437 the redistribution of products from the agricultural system
within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those
602 which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as
437 births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different
476 kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of
[431] fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high
social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is
also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities
602 throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often
437 from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there
554 is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

Social Ties

571 Ties which help define the role of the individual within
554 the broader context of Tongan society include some
pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and
other more contermporary ties related to the church, the
government, and the village.

565 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy
554 of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (*eiki*,

622 present, however, most nobles live in Nuku'alofa, and
178 effective local leadership is often in the hands of church
565 officials, teachers, or government officials. The accumulation
556 of wealth and acquisition of European houses,
178 motor vehicles, and other European goods are also increasingly
556 important status symbols. For example, in some
villages, owners of small trading stores, buses, or trucks
[571] have gained prestige and social effectiveness. Futhermore,
[602] the wealthier a person, the easier it is for him to satisfy
both his kinship and social obligations. In many cases,
wealth is a result of increased commercial agricultural
production.

423 The nobles control the land of the Kingdom, and many
427 farmers try to maintain good relationships with their landlords
565 by making presentations of food and other goods or
427 providing labor. In the past, it was customary for all
565 Tongans to reserve the "first fruits" for the King, the
651 local chief, or the local minister (faifekau). In fact
according to Gifford (1929:104), commoners' gardens were
inspected and the choicest yams, plantains, taros, etc., as
well as pigs over a certain size, were tapu (sacred) and
were to be preserved for the King and other high chiefs.

423 Since 1875, when a system of legal land registration
427 was started, this practice of presenting the first fruits,
565 known as 'inasi or polopolo, has declined considerably,
178 With increasing outside influence through the church and
651

423 schools, egalitarian principles are gaining wider acceptance
427 and if presentations are to be made to the nobles,
565 they are generally made during ceremonial occasions. However,
178 there are a number of nobles who have as yet not
651 granted permanent tenure to tenants on their land and continue
to exact tribute in the form of cash or produce for
the privilege of tenure.

554 Apart from the nobility, the positions of matapule,
town officers and district officers, artisans, ministers,
schoolteachers, and successful entrepreneurs, all demand
[437] certain respect. In order to maintain a favourable social
atmosphere, reciprocal exchanges of money, food, or labor
are made between these individuals and their constituencies.

182 In summary, it must be stressed that these social ties,
571 as well as the previously described kinship ties, provide
602 the basis for cohesion in the Tongan society. Not only do
these set up vast networks of both unilateral and bilateral
exchanges of cash, food, and services, but they also provide
the basis for the political system, land tenure, and the
565 organization of labor. At the present time, the titles of
178 chiefs, particularly nobles, still carry great social,
economic, and political power. Similarly, the nuclear
178 family, the broader kin group, and the village still play a
602 major role with the social and economic life of the average
571 Tongan. However, with increasing exposure to other
[177] cultures, a continuing influence of the church, and an
[182]

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177 increased dependence on the cash economy, the traditional
182 forms of social organization are changing to allow more
602 individualism, egalitarianism, and personal freedom and
571 consequent modification of the traditional Tongan agricultural system.

Land Tenure

175 Traditional Land Tenure

423 Of the limited information concerning Tongan land tenure before European contact, the most comprehensive survey is that by Maude (1971). According to Maude, the pre-contact system probably consisted of sets of overlapping stewardships, in contrast to the more individua-
175 listic present system. The basic landholding group was a
423 patrilineal known as a fa'ahinga or matakali. Each
565 fa'ahinga was headed by an ulumotu'a, who usually held a
631 hereditary title such as matapule (Ceremonial attendant) or
613 foha to the chief.

[621] A number of these fa'ahinga were grouped under the
authority of a chief, the highest ranking fa'ahinga with-
175 in this group being the chief's own. A number of related
423 chiefs, and their fa'ahinga, were grouped into ha'a, which
613 had rights over large tracts of land which "formed rough
631 but not completely exclusive territorial units" (Maude,
565 1971:107). The ultimate title to all land was probably
613 vested nominally in the Tu'i Tonga, who represented the
[643] highest ranking ha'a.

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Table 20. Continued.

Other sources	5%	16%	9%
Total sample size	97	44	141

434

The great diversity of store goods which are now desired by the average Tongan family (Tables 21 and 22) emphasizes the growing need for cash. In addition, cash is needed for church, school fees, taxes,and to fulfill social obligations within the family, the village, and to nobles or even to the town officer in some cases.

439
[241]

Overseas Income

The primary source of Tongan overseas income is the agricultural system. During the period from 1967 to 1971, products of agricultural origin constituted 97 percent by value of all exports(Table 23). The remaining 3 percent included re-exported motor vehicles, empty containers such as oil drums and gas cylinders, goods under bond, and personal effects. A small proportion of the total value of exports is made up of agricultural products sent by Tongans as gifts to relatives overseas, including yams, taro, bananas, watermelons, sugar cane, mangoes, kava, pineapples, and handicrafts. Such items fulfill social obligations and indirectly account for considerable income in the form of remittances from the (grateful) recipients of the goods.

{431}
*[602]

of rank, but their observations add substance to the bare bones of tradition and give 175
us tantalising glimpses of rank in action. On the second voyage for instance, 565
Forster theorises on the origin of rank (1778: 353), while Cook tells of chiefs
succeeding chiefs and of special observances between lesser and greater chiefs.
Thus 'Otago' would not eat in the presence of the 'old chief', but when Cook 175
went to deliver presents to the 'old chief' he found 'a far greater Chief no less than 565
King of the whole Island' so great, in fact, that 'some when they approached him 648
fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet' and 'no one durst pass him till
he gave them leave' (Beaglehole 1961: 256–7). Forster writes that the 'chiefs 643
constantly gave the presents they had received from us to the Latoo'; and, further,
that 'their government has still much oriental despotism and slavish subjection to
chiefs and their Latoo' (1778: 378, 379). Cook concludes that the *Latoo* was the
first man on the Island under whom there were chiefs over certain districts and then
a third level of chiefs, of which his friend Otago was a member. This was not a
bad guess, in the light of only a few days' acquaintance with a complex system—
but not the correct one. For, as we have seen, the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of the
god Tangaloa, was the 'King' of all the archipelago and the divine ruler.

In order to understand the treatment of the *Latoo* we must first classify a second 612
type of ranking in Tonga—that among kinsmen (*kāinga*). Starting with ego's own 562
generation, the first principle of *kāinga* rank is that females have higher status than
males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder
outranking younger, comes into play. Thus, a girl of twelve years of age will have
higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationship of ego with his parental generation, another principle takes 602
precedence. An individual's kinsmen are divided into two classes—the paternal 554
kinsmen who rank higher than ego, and the maternal kinsmen who rank lower than 562
ego. Thus in the parental generation, the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister,
and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. Following these, [604]
father's brothers are distinguished in status according to age. Continuing with these
principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly
higher are the mother's sisters.

The relationships of ego to members of the generation below him depend 602
primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's 604
children are higher in status than ego, and this is reflected in the special term he uses 554
for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. These 562
kinsmen are *fahu* (i.e., 'above the law') to ego and can take any of his possessions. [601]
Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations, such as first fruits, to his [431]
fahu throughout his life. Ego's brother's children, on the other hand, are classified [601]
with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego.

Applying these principles to the Tu'i Tonga line, we see that the Tu'i Tonga 643
himself was outranked within his *kāinga* by his sister. She was distinguished by a 644
special title, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, i.e., the 'female Tu'i Tonga'. Of even higher 554
rank were the Tu'i Tonga's sister's children, and especially her eldest daughter, who
also had a special title, 'Tamaha'. On Cook's third voyage, Anderson tells us that 562
Latu 'made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the [612]
King' (Beaglehole 1967: 954). In this framework we see that he was simply
exercising his *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tamaha had high

175

unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the 634
Tu'i Tonga through his sister. 244

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems 571
let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second 175
voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate *1a*). We are at first a bit overwhelmed 114
by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3) points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6] George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, 175
for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look 304
closely (plate *1b*), we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little 782
fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters 114
and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the
'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes [765]
both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be
on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the 175
third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger 114
from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 782
'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole
1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is 304
quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank 755
to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* [612]
ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone [604]
of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua
Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger [103]
sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the 602
group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*. Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example, Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a 'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these
lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was 175
disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. 765
His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son, 554

A, [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst] 612

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
554 (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
[292] ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

612 This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
602 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1*c*). A
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
126 structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

175 In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[554] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces ... or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285
513

A.[See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
OU9 Tonga OU9

EARLY 19th CENTURY MISSIONARIES IN TONGA

ABORIGINAL TONGA

2 Research on Polynesian ethnography, and more specifically, "things Tongan" since 1969, leads me to conclude that traditional Tongan society 642
was based on kinship, and politics in Tonga was literally "kinship writ [181]
large". As Tongan society increased in size the number of leaders in [178]
society increased. Aboriginal Tongan society was divided into various *ha'a* 'corporate land-holding and property-sharing descent groups,' and 613
every single Tongan was able to trace his or her *ha'a* affiliation for various obligatory reasons in the life cycle (such as marriages, funerals, and wars).

When a Tongan chief dispatched an individual to look after a specific 602 ●
area of land, the individual sent was a kinsman. Consider the following
from a Wesleyan missionary who resided in Tonga for over 25 years, from 613
1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859: 631

> It may be noticed that all the principal offices of the government, were filled by members of the Hau Family as *Governors* of Islands at a distance as well as those near at hand, *Chiefs* of *Districts*, and heads of Towns and villages, they were the relations and the professed friends of the King, whom they appeared to wish to live to serve, and to know.(8)

Another Wesleyan missionary, Peter Turner, provides corroborating evidence in a journal entry: "The King has sent his eldest son to be the head ruler here [at Vava'u] and may be called a king under him."(9)

The Tongan system of apportioning out relatives, with appropriate titles, to rule over certain portions of land unified the "mud and blood" of the *ha'a*.(10)

The first leader of all of the Tongans was the Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of 643
Tonga'. The Tu'i Tonga, as lineal descendant of the gods, was the embodiment of the sacred and secular in aboriginal Tongan life and the leader of all Tongans. In approximately the 15th century, a division was made 175
between the sacred and secular operations of organising society, and a
Tu'i Tonga delegated his secular responsibilities to a brother and the title 643
of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was created. A manuscript account related how the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua: " . . . appointed Maugamotu Tui Haatakalaua, and he was able to reside at Fonuamotu as he was to be protector of the Tuitongas (as the Tuitongas were apt to be assassinated), and the Tuitonga was safe because his younger brother kept guard over him."(11)

In approximately the 17th century a Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua delegated some of his secular authority and responsibility to a son, and the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was created. The individual known as Ngata became the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, and he received "royal estates at the West end
of Tonga [tapu] called Hihifo."(12) When Anderson, who was with Cook 634
in 1777, visited Tongatapu he wrote of the fact that Tongatapu Island was [175]
"divided into many districts" and one of these was "Hee'heefo".(13) When [643]

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8. Thomas n.d. MS:5.
9. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Aug. 24, 1851.
10. Silverman 1971:72.
11. Collocott n.d. vol. II:21.
12. Thomas n.d. MS.:1.
13. Beaglehole 1967:951.

/77 cont./

584 574 604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind. If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ ^ were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, loc cit. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases [574] [431] [276] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 292 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best vala and his best shirt, in addition to several ta'o-vala (of the finest quality: the kie Tonga), (222)

222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two sisi kakala (223)

223. Compare p. 82-84.

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three kie Tonga and sisi kakala, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives 585 602

^ [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

/78 cont./

585 (up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile
[602] (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the
[252] bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest
[593) of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro
etc.

[602) After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their
[565] relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and
[184) religious faiths of Tonga are similar; only the church wedding
ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

585 The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order
292 to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited, soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally.
(302) Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or
(301) a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders
and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to, but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments (fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress, by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

/78 cont./

585 292 177 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

> 224. Namely: long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

> 225. See page 308.

585 178 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/79 cont./

585 574 which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy
[554] the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple
585 wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four
574 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)

276 226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable, third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the
[604] laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this,
585 the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are dis-
574 tributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and
431 the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immediately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three
[177] days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo, fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the
[574] bridegroom. The relatives (229)

[276] [202] [178] 229. According to the original custom, only older women who acted as witnesses; today, however, a rather large circle of individuals of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

/79 cont./ The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is
585 examined and if it is /80/ stained with blood they fire a shot of joy
[202] with an old shotgun, or in some other way make known their pleasure
that the bride's virginity has been proved. The sheet (or the
sleep-tapa) is publicly displayed and then carried from the bride-
groom's place to the place of the bride's mother. The contents of an
immediately prepared earth oven, in addition to mats and tapa, are
brought by the kinfolk of the young man to the family of the young
wife--in recognition of the fact that her mother had carefully watched
[602] over her daughter. The young wife is kept on her sleeping place, is
bathed by her relatives, combed and adorned, lovingly treated like a
sick person and nursed with good food.--If the wished-for sign does
not appear on the sheet, nothing happens the next morning. The young
wife is then obliged to perform ordinary, everyday work, that is,
rake leaves, cook, wash, etc. The villagers see this and know what
has happened. (230)

230. A few Tongan maintain that for this reason "smart" girls who are no longer virgins arrange the date of their wedding (that is, the consummation of the marriage) to coincide with the days of their menstruation.

585 The last part of the wedding, however, is no longer common in
178 this form. Often the marriage is consummated the first night after
the wedding, and many times the stained sheet is no longer displayed.
Various Tongans who have some knowledge of European conditions reject
this custom as being "low," barbaric.

[177] A few couples have recently also imitated the European example
of the honeymoon by traveling to a small island after the wedding
celebration.

585 On the whole, a great deal of ancient Tongan tradition has been
177 preserved in the wedding procedure. Indeed, the tradition seems to
178 the observer to be the essential, decisive element to which the civil

/82 cont./

846 festivities. It is simply customary for relatives (especially those
574 of the mother) and neighbors to come, in order to see the newborn child
846 and to bring gifts, such as tapa, (small) mats, a basket of yams, a
574 chicken, or European articles such as baby powder, for example. They
431 are offered food that has been prepared in advance, and soon (after
(602) one or two hours) the visitors return home. It is only after the birth
of the first child in the family that the father with his kinsmen prepares a very large earth oven for the kinfolk of his wife, they form a kava circle and the two family groups exchange gifts of mats and tapa. Some families also repeat this celebration after subsequent births.

853 The Tongan mother begins feeding her baby by chewing a piece of coconut meat that has been heated in the fire, then wrapping this in a piece of raw tapa (feta'aki) and putting this in the child's mouth to suck. After two days the baby is given the mother's breast (huhu). In two or three months the supplementary diet is begun. The mother skins bananas (of the siaine species) that have been roasted in the fire, chews the bananas and gives them to the child which is also fed yams (for example, 'ufi-lei) baked in the earth oven and chewed (or crushed), bread fruit, sweet potatoes and /83/ coconut milk. (236)

853 236. The juice squeezed out of coconut meat.

177 However, this typical, ancient Tongan baby diet is today, in many cases, replaced by European food. Instead of the chewed coconut meat in raw tapa, the child is given warm sugar-water and in place of the aforementioned supplementary diet the baby is often given soaked pieces of bread and zwieback that have been chewed or crushed with a fork (spoon). Occasionally, a bottle with cow's milk is given instead of the breast. (237)

237. On Lifuka, for example, a woman raised the eight children of her adopted daughter

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant
relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the
765 deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers
302 and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among
all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
764 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the
765 body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore,
304 and the wounding of the head (246)
178

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints
for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of
765 a child (248)
782

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

177
643 and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme
ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under
Christian influence.

764 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the
794 priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is
borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/88 cont./

764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
[276] the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
[562] These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.)
are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each
guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is
sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread
which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain
the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after
the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk,
the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked
them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
[602] days in the house of the deceased, (256)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of neighbors; special huts for the mourners are no longer built.

765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa, call loudly, sing [except
in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially
cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
784 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
178
[565] however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of
burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example,
in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and
government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed
only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

/120 cont./

592
423
[425]
[431]
1 household each with circa 9 acres (332)

332. A few households have more than 8 acres at their disposal because two (or more) legitimate claimants have received their own api'uta (for example, father and son over 16), others because they have been given the land as gifts, or an api'uta was additionally taken on by another person (see above).

3	households	each	with	circa	10	acres
2	"	"	"	"	11	"
4	"	"	"	"	12	"
1	household		"	"	13	"
3	households	"	"	"	15	"
2	"	"	"	"	16	"
1	household		"	"	21	"

[621] Thus, on an average, one land-owning household in 'Uiha controls slightly more than seven acres. Since the village consists of a total of 100 households (333)

[241]
[431]
[602]
333. Some landless individuals plant on the land of fellow-villagers, or else land-owners give products to their relatives who have no land.

there are just under 6½ acres alloted to each household. The land distribution in 'Uiha is apparently sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants, since each household has at its disposal enough food from the plantations of the village, and there is no dissatisfaction to be noted over the varying sizes of the individual api'uta.

Of the 32 land-owning households in Fungamisi/Vava'u 1 household has (circa) 3 acres (334)

334. The data in acres are estimates of well-informed Tongan.

1 household has (circa) 5 acres

/120 cont./

592 1 household has (circa) 6 acres
423 3 households have (circa) 7 acres each
8 " " " 8 " "
1 household has " 9 " (335)

[425] [431] 335. A few households have more than 8 acres at their disposal because two (or more) legitimate claimants have received their own api'uta (for example, father and son over 16), others because they have been given land as gifts, or an api'uta was additionally taken on by another person (see above).

/121/ 2 households have (circa) 10 acres each
1 household was " 11 "
2 households " " 12 " "
1 household has " 14 "
1 " " " 19 "
1 " " " 25 "

Thus, on an average, a land-owning household in Fungamisi has approximately 9 and 2/3 acres at its disposal. Since the village consists of a total of 45 households, (336) [621]

[241] [431] [602] 336. Some landless individuals plant on the land of fellow-villagers, or else landowners give their products to relatives who have no land.

each household is alloted an average of slightly less than five acres. Here too the distribution of land seems to suffice for the needs of the inhabitants.

423 659 This inequality of land distribution will become greater in the future as conditions become more complicated from generation to generation (inheritance of individual api as well as removals), especially since drastic measures on the part of the government in the form of redistribution are improbable because of the difficulties involved.

331 /138 cont./
342 village built a house for his mother. Fourteen of these "laymen"
463 buildings were put up after 1940. The builders or "laymen" seldom
[602] worked alone. In most cases they had up to five helpers (often
[465] relatives) whose work was acknowledged only with food. In many cases
[435] there was no outlay for building material, since the builders
limited themselves to native raw materials or were given only
corrugated metal and building timber; for the rest of the buildings,
up to 12£T. was spent for corrugated metal, building timber and nails.

331
342 Of 16 European-type houses examined at the same time, 11 were
177 built by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such). The
463 work of the builders (some of whom were relatives) was acknowledged
[602] only with food, except in two cases; one was given building material
[465] (wood), the other was given money. Five houses were built by non-specialist natives for themselves.--Altogether, two houses were built
individually. For the rest of the 14 structures, 2 to 20 helpers were
[465] co-workers. Their work was here too acknowledged only with food while
they were building, except for one case in which money was given. For
[435] building material--aside from gifts--between 20£T.(old material) and
1000£T.(good material, very large house) was spent.

342 These investigations can give us various clues. We realize that
most Tongans are apparently still capable of building by themselves
(Fungamisi example) a simple dwelling (ancient Tongan ground plan).
[463] However, as a result of the "liberation" of the people, the house-
[331] building specialists, of whom there were some even in ancient Tonga,
seem to have obtained a greater range of work insofar as many commoners
342 depend on them for help (as did many chiefs in former times). The
178 wish to have a well-built house in ancient Tongan style is considerably
greater, according to the figures quoted above, in a more remote
village like 'Uiha than in a settlement near a harbor, like Fungamisi

/151 cont./

241 399. G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 150.

241 The Tongan today works the land granted him by the government
423 (api'uta). (400)

400. See p. 172 ff.

The api'uta are scattered over the islands (or rather, the districts) with no special system, so that for example, a villager will have his land in the northern part of the island (or district) and his neighbor will have his in the south. For various reasons, not all
[602] Tongans have received the 8¼ acres of plantation land to which they
[427] are legally entitled; (401)

401. See p. 173 ff.

the size of the individual plantations varies, and some natives work along with relatives or cultivate land of fellow-villagers to whom they then give part of their harvest (for example, one-fourth) in
241 acknowledgment. Whereas in ancient Tongan times the chiefs exerted
256 authority, force and supervision over commoners who cultivated the
178 land that was granted them--especially for the benefit of their
[423] lords--, nowadays the Tongan government is the supervisory authority.
[565] By law, every owner of an api'uta must plant one-half of his land with coconut palms and raise food plants on the other half (among them plants of economic value), the kind and amount of which are specifically
[622] determined. The "town officers" /cited in English/ see that these
[634] stipulations are carried out--in accordance with the regulations of the "district officers" /cited in English/. (402)

402. Regulation No. 11 of 1948 demands, for example, that the owners of individual api'uta grow the following: